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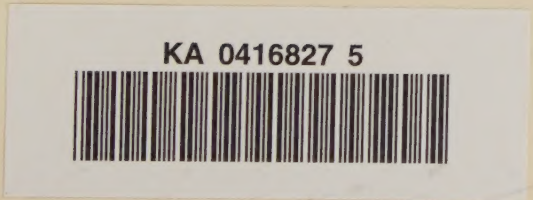

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DEMOSTHENES

SPEECH ON THE CROWN

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DEMOSTHENES

SPEECH ON THE CROWN

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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AND

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PART I.—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

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PREFACE

THIS edition of the *Speech on the Crown* is uniform in all essential points with the two volumes of Demosthenes' *Orations against Philip* already published. The text, as in them, is printed from Bekker's stereotype edition: any deviation is mentioned in the notes. The editors wish to acknowledge their general obligations to earlier editions, and in particular to that of Dissen. Among later editions they have found those of Voemel (1862), Westermann-Rosenberg, Rehdantz-Blass, and Weil, most useful. They are indebted throughout to Arnold Schaefer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, whose dates are given in the Introduction.

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INTRODUCTION

DEMOSTHENES ended his *Third Philippic* (341 B.C.), the last and the most impressive of his speeches to the Athenian Assembly which we possess, with the following words:—

'Some one has, doubtless, been long waiting to ask me—What are we to do? We are still a state, our city is the greatest in Greece, with the most ample resources, and the noblest reputation. What are we to do? I will tell you, and I will also bring forward a proposal that you may put it to the vote, if you choose. In the first place we must prepare to defend ourselves—we must be ready with ships and men and money—for, if all the rest of Greece is willing to submit and be slaves, we at least must make a stand for freedom; and, when we have done this and have something to show, let us call upon others, and send out envoys to tell them what we have done—let us send to Peloponnesus, to Rhodes, to Chios, and even to the Great King, for it is not to his advantage that Philip should become master of the Grecian world. If you win them over they will share in the danger and the expense, when required; if you fail, you will at least delay the march of events. But I would not have you call upon others, if you are unwilling to lift a finger in your own behalf. It is ridiculous to declare that you have the interests of others at heart when you neglect your own; or to overlook immediate dangers and get up a scare about the future. No! we must send supplies to the Chersonese, and support the force there

in every way; we must make ready at home; we must bring the Greeks together, and put the true state of affairs before them. This is a line of conduct worthy of our state; but you must not expect Chalcis or Megara to be the saviour of Greece, if you abandon your post; enough for them, if they can save themselves. It is our duty to defend Hellas; that is the position which our forefathers won at so great a cost and bequeathed to us. If every man sits still, expecting that all will be as he wishes, and seeking some excuse for inaction, he will not find others ready to act for him, and in the end we shall have to do many things which we should wish to leave undone.'

The words of Demosthenes were not without effect. His proposals were accepted, and from this time forward he directed the public policy of Athens. By his energy and foresight he succeeded in inspiring a large portion of Hellas with something of the old national spirit. Convinced that the campaign which, at the time of the oration, Philip was conducting in Thrace would not end with the conquest of the interior, but was merely a step towards securing the control of the Bosphorus, by the seizure of the towns on the sea board, he went in person to Byzantium, and induced the Byzantians, who, since the Social War (357–355), had been hostile to Athens, to renounce the connexion into which they had entered with Philip and return to their old alliance. To prove that the new union was more than a matter of words, troops were sent out by Athens to the Hellespont, to Proconnesus, and to Tenedos.

Envoys were also sent to Rhodes and Chios, and even to Susa, and though the Persian monarch could not be induced to enter into any direct connexion with Athens, he was not blind to the danger of Philip's increasing power—a danger which in ways of his own he endeavoured to meet.

Accompanied by Callias of Chalcis Demosthenes then visited the various cities of Greece, and laid the foundation of a new national league under the presidency of Athens. Chalcis, Athens, and Megara formed the nucleus, and they were joined by the western Greeks, the Corcyraeans, Acarnanians, and

Leucadians, and by the Achaeans and Corinthians. Renewed attacks were made on Philip's partisans in Euboea, and at last, by the expulsion of Clitarchus from Eretria, the whole island was liberated from Macedonian influence. In these negotiations Demosthenes carried the people with him, and at the Dionysia of 339 B.C. he was crowned with a golden wreath on the proposal of Aristonicus (*De Cor.* § 83).

Meanwhile Philip had been for two years in Thrace, without making any effort to disturb the combination which was being formed against him. To those who could not form a true judgment of the man and his methods, he seemed to be letting the control of Hellas slip from his hands;—and no doubt the difficulties of the Thracian campaign were greater than he anticipated. But he was not to be shaken off; in spite of hardship, and severe fighting, he pursued his plan. Thrace was not only conquered but subdued, and held in subjection by new roads, by towns and colonies, in which he planted convicts under the control of armed forces. By the summer of 340 B.C. his work was done so far as the interior of Thrace was concerned. The other, and even more difficult, task remained; so long as Athens held the command at sea, Philip's acquisitions were robbed of more than half their value; only by obtaining possession of the Bosphorus, could he hope to influence the destinies of Greece, even though he were master of the whole tract of country from the Illyrian coast to the Euxine. The maritime cities of Thrace must be his. For a time he had won over Perinthus and Byzantium, but by the action of Demosthenes these cities were now allies of Athens. He first attacked Perinthus, but in vain; then he passed on to Byzantium, where he met with no better success. In his advance he had marched through the Chersonese, which was Athenian territory, and had seized some Athenian vessels, thus giving the Athenians grounds of complaint which could not be explained away. For a long time the Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.) had been maintained in name only. It was now formally rescinded (340 B.C. autumn).

Immediately after the declaration of war the Athenians sent forty ships under Chares to the relief of Byzantium, and when a second squadron followed under Phocion, Philip was compelled to raise the siege of the city. He succeeded in sending his fleet back through the Hellespont, and after some time spent in predatory warfare in the neighbourhood, he marched against the Scythians on the Danube. In this campaign, though successful, he was wounded; and it was not till the end of the summer of 339 B.C. that he was again in Macedonia, where a new and unexpected opportunity awaited him for carrying out his designs upon Greece.

Meanwhile Demosthenes had been busy with internal reforms at Athens. Eubulus was no longer the guiding spirit in the finance of the city; it was no longer a question of expenditure on public buildings, and public amusements; every available penny was to be devoted to the war. In the teeth of a good deal of opposition Demosthenes succeeded in passing a new trierarchic law, by which the burden of supporting the navy—and Athens was still powerful in this arm—was adjusted by a sort of sliding scale to the property of the citizens.

'When I saw,' he says in the *De Corona*, 'that our navy was going to decay, and that the richer citizens got rid of their public burdens at a slight cost, while the poorer men were losing all that they had, and that the city, in consequence, was always too late and missed her opportunity, I carried a law by which I compelled the rich to do their duty, and put a stop to the oppression of the poor, and, what was of immense advantage to the city, I caused all our preparations to be ready in time. For this law I was brought into court, but my accuser failed to obtain a fifth of the votes. Yet what sums, do you think, the leaders of the companies, or those of the second or third class in them, would have given me not to bring forward the law, or at least to abandon it? Such sums as I cannot venture to name. Their offers were natural enough. Under the previous laws they discharged their duties in companies of sixteen, contributing but little themselves, and grinding the poor; but

under my law each paid his proper quota according to his means, and a man was appointed trierarch of two triremes who previously contributed but a sixteenth part of the cost of one[1].'

The law also under which it was forbidden to apply the surplus revenue of the state to military purposes—or, to speak more technically, to use *θεωρικά* as *στρατιωτικά*—was repealed[2].

In the spring of 339 B. C. an event occurred which cancelled many of the advantages gained for Hellas, in the impending struggle with Philip, by the energy of Demosthenes. It was of the utmost importance to Philip that he should appear in Hellas, not at the head of an armed force, intent on conquest, but as the friend of the oppressed, or the supporter of a righteous cause. It was under the pretence of aiding Delphi that he had destroyed the Phocians, and as a reward he was allowed to preside at the Pythian games. At the present moment no such opportunity offered; the Thessalians and Thebans were not indeed on friendly terms with Athens, but with the experience of the past in their minds they might reasonably hesitate to join Philip in attacking her. The opportunity had to be created; and, as before, it was the Amphictyonic Council which enabled Philip to succeed in his plans. If Demosthenes is to be believed Aeschines was his purchased tool. In 339 he was elected one of the Pylagori or representatives of Athens at Delphi. His election was a hole-and-corner affair, carried through by a small knot of his partisans, unnoticed by the Athenian leaders, who therefore took no measures to prevent it, but it gave Aeschines the opening which he required.

When the deputies arrived at Delphi for the spring meeting, it was announced that the Amphisseans were prepared with a charge against the Athenians. After the Phocian war, before

[1] Dem. *De Cor.* § 102. See notes.

[2] See note on *Olynth.* i. § 19, and also the note in Mr. Sandys' edition of the *Olynthiacs*. The subject is very obscure, for it is by no means certain that the *διωβελία* which is mentioned in 410 and the *θεωρικόν* were the same thing.

the purification of the Delphian temple had been completed, the Athenians had replaced the shields, dedicated after the battle of Plataea, on which was recorded the victory gained by the Greeks over the united Persians and Thebans. This of course roused the anger of the Thebans, and at their instigation the Locrians of Amphissa instructed their deputy at the Amphictyonic Council to attack the Athenians for their brutality in reminding the Greeks of their ancient quarrels. He denounced their conduct in the strongest terms, and proposed a fine of fifty talents (£10,000)[1]. Aeschines retorted after an unexpected manner. The Locrian deputy had declared that the Athenians ought to be regarded as under a curse and excluded from the temple; from the rocky height on which the council was held he pointed to the Cirrhaean Plain, the sacred ground which it was forbidden to till, and showed that the Amphisseans had occupied a portion of it. It was they, not the Athenians, who were under a curse. Let the whole Delphian population come to the aid of the God, drive the intruders from the sacred soil, and destroy the buildings and the harbour which they had impiously constructed there. The Delphians answered to the call, and would have started immediately, had time permitted; on the next morning they went forth and accomplished the work of destruction, but on their way home, they were attacked by the Amphisseans who lay in wait for them, and driven to Delphi with considerable loss. A new Sacred War was on foot. Everything was in confusion. Charges were made against the Amphisseans and war declared upon them. Philip was still in Scythia, and for a time the army was led by Cottyphus, one of the Amphictyons, but of the forces, those who came proved useless, and some never came at all. At the autumn meeting

[1] So Aeschines, *In Ctes.* 117. Demosthenes, *De Cor.* 150, denies that any charge was brought by the Amphisseans against Athens: *οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοὺς Λοκροὺς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι· τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ.* But this does not prove that the Amphisseans did not propose to bring it.

of the Council, the Thessalians and other friends of Philip proposed that he should be invited to undertake the war and bring his own army to the work, otherwise the Amphictyons must enter on the campaign with a mercenary force which they would have to pay[1].

Philip had now got what he wanted—a legitimate reason for interfering in Grecian affairs; he entered Hellas once more as the Champion of the God of Delphi. He was not long in showing what his real object was. 'Bidding a long farewell to the Cirrhaeans and Locrians,' he turned to the east and occupied Elatea, one of the dismantled Phocian cities, which commanded the valley of the Cephisus. Here he encamped his army and began to fortify the city. Before him lay Boeotia, beyond Cithaeron was Attica: which city had he come to attack, Thebes or Athens?

The greatest excitement prevailed in both cities, especially in Athens. For Thebes and Athens were not on good terms, and the past history was such that an Athenian statesman might not unreasonably look forward to a union of the Theban and Macedonian forces, while others, forgetting their danger in their resentment, were perhaps willing enough to stand by and see the hand of Philip fall heavily on their hated neighbours. Demosthenes alone understood the situation.

'It was evening,' he says, in a famous passage of the *De Corona*, 'when the news was brought to Athens that Philip had established himself at Elatea. On hearing it, some of the prytaneis at once rose from their dinner, expelled from the booths in the market-place all those who were in them, and made a bonfire of the hurdles; others sent for the generals and summoned the trumpeter. Confusion spread through the city. Next morning, at daybreak, the prytaneis summoned the council, while you gathered to the assembly, and before the councillors brought forward any proposal, the whole people was seated on the hill. When the councillors arrived, and the prytaneis announced the news, and produced the bearer of it,

[1] Dem. *De Cor.* §§ 150–152.

who repeated his story, the herald at once asked: "Who wishes to speak?" No one came forward. Again and again did he put this question, but no one rose—yet all the generals were present, and all the orators, and there was our country calling for some one to speak in her cause and save her.... Had it been a moment for those to come forward who desired the protection of the city, you would, one and all, have rushed to the platform, for I am sure that you all wished the city to be preserved. Could wealth have aided us, the Three Hundred would have moved; or those who subsequently gave large gifts to the city, if wealth and patriotism had been of avail. But the crisis was one which called not for a patriot only, or a man of means, but for a statesman who had followed the progress of events, and formed a correct conclusion about Philip's object in this movement. Without such knowledge, formed by long and careful examination, no one could frame a plan of action, or advise the state, however rich and patriotic he might be. The man needed was found in me; and I came forward and spoke. I said: "Those who are in great anxiety under the impression that the Thebans are supporting Philip, are in my judgement mistaken in their views; had this been the case we should not have heard of him at Elatea, but on our borders. Yet I have certain knowledge that he has come to prepare his way at Thebes. The case stands thus: he has already won over all the Thebans whom he can bribe, or deceive, but he is unable to make any impression on those who have been his steady opponents from the first. What then is his object in occupying Elatea? He hopes by displaying his power close at hand to encourage his friends, and strike terror into his opponents, that these may be forced or frightened into the concessions which they now refuse to make. If then," I continued, "we choose at the present moment to bear in mind any ill-natured action of the Thebans towards us, and to distrust them as being partisans of the enemy, we shall do the very thing which Philip most desires; and the result, I fear, will be that the party now opposed to Philip will go over to him; and when all have united under his banner,

they will march upon Attica. . . . What then do I propose? Let us be less alarmed for ourselves, and more alarmed for the Thebans; they are nearer the danger, and the storm will break on them first. Let us assemble all our military force, horse and foot, at Eleusis, and appear under arms in the sight of all Greece, in order that our friends at Thebes may speak out as confidently as our enemies, seeing that in us they have a support, just as those who have sold their country have a support in Philip's army at Elatea. Then let us send ten envoys to Thebes, instructing them not to make any request, which would be disgraceful at such a time, but to announce that we are willing to go to their assistance, if they wish it. If they accept our aid, we shall have attained our object in a manner worthy of the state; if we fail to win them over, they will have themselves to blame, and we shall have nothing mean or base to regret."'

Of these ten envoys Demosthenes was one. At Thebes he was met by the envoys of Philip, led by Python, who, four years previously, had been dispatched by Philip to Athens. They were allowed to speak first as the allies of Philip, and they made the best of the opportunity, by praises of Philip and denunciations of the Athenians, to increase the alienation of the cities. They asked nothing of the Thebans, who might, if they chose, join Philip in invading Attica; if not, he would be satisfied with permission to march through Boeotia. If they took Philip's side they would share in the plunder of Attica; if not, Boeotia would be the scene of war, and they would be the first to suffer. What Demosthenes said in reply we do not know. 'I would give anything to repeat it to you,' he said, speaking in 330 B.C., 'but the time is long past, and I fear that you would think it idle and vexatious if I were to speak of events which you regard as having taken place before the deluge.' He contents himself with quoting the answer which the Thebans sent to Athens. He gained the day, and so fanned the flame of Theban patriotism, that casting aside all thought of Philip's promises, and threats, the city entered into alliance with

Athens; a treaty was made in which the Thebans undertook to re-establish the Phocians, while Athens on her part guaranteed to Thebes her supremacy over Boeotia. War was to be carried on against Philip by the two cities in common, but Athens was to bear two-thirds of the expense.

The Athenian army at once marched to Thebes, where it was received with the greatest enthusiasm—the soldiers, contrary to the usual custom, being invited into the houses of the Thebans—an event on which Demosthenes lays the greatest stress as a proof of the estimation in which the Athenian soldier was held, not only for his courage, but for his conduct. The allies then took up a position at Parapotamii on the Cephisus below Elatea, where the valley becomes narrower, and at the same time a force of mercenaries was sent to Amphissa under the command of Chares, and the Theban Proxenus. The Phocians were also invited to return and rebuild their cities. The allies at a distance, the members of the National League which Demosthenes had formed, Corcyra, Leucas, Achaea, Euboea, Corinth, and Megara, were called upon to furnish contingents and contributions; and though the Peloponnesians could not be brought over to the patriotic side, they remained neutral and sent no aid to Philip.

It was now winter, and little was done. We hear of a battle on the River, and a Winter Battle (?), in both of which the allies were victorious, the Athenians winning the admiration of all by their orderliness, their equipment, and their zeal. At Athens these successes were celebrated by sacrifices and processions; and Demosthenes, as the leading spirit in the movement, was crowned, at the spring festival of Dionysus in 338, with a wreath of gold.

Not that his policy was accepted or his measures approved by all. That Aeschines and the paid Macedonian party should approve them was not to be expected; if Demosthenes succeeded, they failed, and the artifice by which they had so cunningly brought Philip into Central Greece had been carried through in vain. It was more important that Phocion, whom no one could

suspect of a leaning towards Macedon, or indeed of anything that was not manly, straightforward, and honest, was opposed to the war. But Phocion is one of the most singular phenomena in this unhappy time; a man of high character, a faithful servant of the city, and successful as a general, yet wholly out of sympathy with the state, in which he lived. He had neither the philosophy to withdraw from the world, nor the practical genius to set right what he felt to be out of joint; he stood alone, contemptuous of inaction, suspicious of enthusiasm, opposed to Demosthenes, yet without an alternative policy. Demosthenes carried all before him. It was useless to attack him as a friend of Boeotia, or to quote omens and prodigies; the crisis was too imminent; and it was clear to every one that the destinies of Greece would be decided by the coming campaign.

With the spring Philip began operations. He was incomparably superior to any general in the Grecian army, and his soldiers were in a large part veterans, who had fought through many a campaign. If he proceeded cautiously, it was because he wished to make every step secure: a reverse would increase the number of his enemies, and unite them more closely; success would cause the allies to think over their position, and ask themselves once more whether they had taken the right path. He turned first upon Amphissa: by a pretended retreat he induced the mercenaries to withdraw their guards from the passes which led from Elatea and the west; after which, returning rapidly, he penetrated to Amphissa, and defeated the troops there. The town was destroyed, and even Naupactus was taken and given to the Aetolians.

Philip had rightly estimated the effect of a victory. When he once more made overtures to the Thebans, after the defeat of the mercenaries at Amphissa, the question was seriously discussed. Demosthenes found that his whole policy was at stake. If we may trust the account of Aeschines, he was afraid that the Boeotarchs would be induced by bribes to make a separate peace with Philip; in his passionate excitement at the possible overthrow of the combination which he had brought

about with so much pains, he leapt up in the assembly, and swore by Athena, that if any one brought forward a proposal for peace, he would seize him by the hair of his head, and drag him off to prison. 'And when the authorities at Thebes paid no attention to him, but even sent back the soldiers which had marched out to their aid, in order that the Athenians might discuss the question of peace, he became altogether beside himself. He came forward before the assembly and declared that the Boeotarchs were traitors to Hellas, and proposed, he who had never looked the enemy in the face, to send envoys to Thebes to ask for permission to march through their territory against Philip.' Whatever his proposals, he was successful in them. The Thebans abandoned all ideas of peace with Philip and prepared for a battle.

Elatea was not a suitable position for Philip; it was too confined for the movements of his cavalry, but the Greeks lay between him and the open country on the lower Cephisus. Once more he showed his superiority as a general; by moving towards the east, and devastating the region north of Lake Copais, he threw the plans of the Greeks, who were intent on holding the pass, into confusion, and leaving a small force at Parapotamii they began to follow his movements. This was precisely what Philip wanted. It was now easy to force his way to the south. Returning into the valley of the Cephisus, he rapidly marched down the river to the broad plain at Chaeronea. The Greeks ranged themselves against him, with the town of Chaeronea in their rear. The Thebans occupied the right wing, which reached to the river Cephisus; the centre was formed by the Phocians, Achaeans, Corinthians, and such remnants of the mercenary army as had survived the disaster of Amphissa. On the left, nearest the town of Chaeronea, were the Athenians. The various contingents had their own leaders; the Boeotians being commanded by Theagenes; the Athenians by Stratocles, under whom were Chares and Lysicles. The numbers of the infantry on both sides were about 30,000, but Philip was far superior in cavalry, and the quality of his

troops was better. It was also greatly to his advantage that he was *sole* commander of his army.

The Athenians began the conflict by advancing against the Macedonians, who withdrew before them into the plain. The movement which may have been intended to draw away the Athenians from the shelter of the town and the hilly ground which covered their rear, was construed into a defeat. Stratocles called to his men, and bade them drive the Macedonians back to their own country; a foolish order which only served to detach the Athenians from the rest of the Grecian force. The Thebans were attacked by Alexander, who on this day held his first command—he was now a youth of eighteen. Even his furious charge could not shake the Sacred Band, who held together till they fell before the lances of the horsemen. The centre, taken in flank by Alexander, quickly gave way. And now Philip checked the advance of the Athenians, who were left alone in the field, with the Macedonian infantry holding them at bay, and the cavalry charging them on all sides. For a time they endeavoured to retire to their original position, but the retreat quickly became a flight. One thousand were slain, two thousand were taken captive, and the loss of the Thebans was greater still. The defeat was decisive: there was now no army to take the field, the contingents returned home; the National League was broken up. Hellas lay at the mercy of Philip. Aug. (?) 338 B.C.

On Thebes his hand fell heavily. She was at once deprived of her long-coveted position as the leading city in Boeotia. Orchomenus, Thespiae, and Plataea were restored and rebuilt, and the submission of Thebes was secured by placing a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea. Athens was treated with greater consideration. The Chersonese was indeed taken from her, and her fleet was united with the fleet of Macedon, but a peace on favourable terms was granted, and she was allowed to take over Oropus, which had long been a bone of contention between Athens and Thebes. Soon afterwards a congress was held at Corinth, in which Athens took part;

a general peace was proclaimed throughout Hellas, and the Greeks undertook to serve under Philip's lead in an invasion of Persia.

The triumph of Macedon was of course an opportunity for the enemies of Demosthenes; they came forward again and again to attack him. But the Athenian people stood by him. In the winter of 338–337 B. C. he was chosen to pronounce the funeral oration on those who fell at Chaeronea. He was also elected a commissioner for the repair of the walls of Athens, and when he contributed to this purpose out of his own means, Ctesiphon proposed that he should receive a crown from the people at the Dionysia (336 B. C.). For this he was at once attacked by Aeschines, who declared the proposal to be illegal. Demosthenes was an officer of state, and as such responsible for any funds in his hands, and for the proper discharge of his office—ὑπεύθυνος. It was contrary to law to propose a public reward for any one, while he remained under such liabilities. In this Aeschines was probably right, but when he also declares that it was illegal to proclaim the crown in the Theatre at the Dionysia, he seems to be pressing the law too far. The people seem to have reserved the right of proclamation in the Theatre, though the usual place was the Pnyx; and it is clear from the evidence of inscriptions that such proclamations were made.

The process lingered on from year to year, and did not finally come up for trial till 330 B. C. The reasons for this long delay are not altogether clear. Of course much more was involved in the case than the mere trial and condemnation of Ctesiphon: the question at issue was whether Athens still pronounced in favour of the policy of Demosthenes, though it had failed. For some years after Chaeronea the feeling against Macedon was strong; it broke out at Athens, Thebes, and Sparta. When Philip was assassinated in 336 B. C., many hoped that Greece might regain her freedom, but Alexander soon convinced them that the new hands were as firm as the old. Thebes, which broke into open revolt while Alexander was occupied in the region of

the Danube, was levelled to the ground (335). From Athens the surrender of eight of her leading citizens, Demosthenes among them, was demanded, but Alexander was induced by Phocion not to press the matter, and Athens compromised by sending twenty ships to join Alexander's fleet. In 330 the Spartans rose under king Agis, but in vain. They were defeated by Antipater at Megalopolis and their king slain. The Macedonian power was now established throughout Greece, and at length Aeschines brought his action. Demosthenes answered in his *Speech on the Crown*; it was he, not Ctesiphon, at whom the blow was aimed; it was his policy rather than the action of Ctesiphon which had to be defended.

Aeschines failed to obtain one fifth of the votes, and retired to Ephesus to escape the payment of the fine, which by law he was required to pay.

The Style and Structure of the Demosthenic Period as illustrated from the Speech on the Crown

In the *Speech on the Crown* the periodic style in Greek prose reaches its highest development. It is impossible here to analyze fully the characteristics of this style. Its qualities are too varied and its system too elastic to be exhausted by any analysis, and it must be understood that the methods and principles to which attention is called are not absolute or invariable. It is hoped that an attempt to point out some of the characteristics of Demosthenes' method of composition may throw light on the structure of oratorical prose generally, and of Greek oratory in particular.

The means at the disposal of an oratorical writer may be classified under three heads :—

(I) Language and Style;

(II) Rhythm;

(III) Structure.

These of course overlap and pass into one another, but it is convenient to treat them apart.

I. General style and use of words. The style of Demosthenes depends for its dignity and effect very largely on its structure and grouping (see below). The words which he uses are generally those of ordinary life: the poetical words are fewer than in the history of Thucydides, whom he studied so carefully, or than in the speeches of his contemporary

Lycurgus. Simile and metaphor are used from time to time (see Index) but are kept subordinate; they are drawn mainly from the world of sea-faring or of business which was familiar to his audience.

Like Thucydides he uses compound verbs freely, often to point a contrast or enforce a parallel. His versatility is specially shown (1) in his handling of 'figures of speech' such as *παρίσωσις* and *παρομοίωσις*, in which he aims rather at general symmetry than at mechanical equality or parallelism; (2) in his mastery of the 'figures of thought.' He is specially strong in Rhetorical question[1], Asyndeton[1], Repetition[1] (*ἐπαναφορά*), Suggested objection (*ὑποφορά*), Aposiopesis.

In his choice of words, he is partly guided by desire for symmetry or antithesis or assonance, but the main consideration is variety of expression. He does not use verbal nouns so often as Thucydides, but he is very fond of using long infinitive phrases as subject or object of a sentence, and he is much given to participial clauses. He shows great skill in the use of particles, especially *καί*, *καὶ μήν*, *καίτοι*, *τοίνυν*, *ἀλλά* (for all these see Index). How many shades of meaning he can get out of a single word may be seen by examining his use of such words as *πρᾶγμα*, *ὑπάρχειν*, *πολιτικός*.

From this very brief account of his use of language we may pass on to the structure of his period.

II. Rhythm.—Attempts have been made to reduce the rhythms of the Demosthenic periods to the same sort of fixed laws of correspondence as those of the lyrical poets; but there is no reason to suppose that the orator felt himself bound by such strict fetters as have been invented for him. In rhythm, as in structure, the great principle which Demosthenes follows is to combine dignity and balance of parts with great variety.

If we examine for instance the way in which he closes his periods we find a wonderful variety of rhythms. A few characteristics deserve notice.

[1] See Index for instances of these figures.

(*a*) A heavy spondaic ending is rare, but is sometimes used with effect:

126 *τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι*;

2 *οὕτως ἐᾶσαι χρήσασθαι* (where the assonance is noticeable).

Most sentences end with a much lighter rhythm, with at most four long syllables together.

97 *φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως.*

Lighter endings are much more frequent, such as

98 *διαλογισάμενοι.* 100 *ὑπολογισάμενοι.*

109 *πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων.*

But a long series of short syllables at the end is not common.

203 *πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκεν.*

(*b*) The period seldom ends in a monosyllable unless it is an emphatic word:—

67 *μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν.*

71 *ἐχρῆν ἢ μή*;

16 *ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε*, where *γε* gives a bitter emphasis to *τοῦτο*.

(*c*) Throughout, the rhythms of poetry are generally avoided, and even when they occur they are almost concealed by their surroundings, and seldom jar upon the ear. But occasionally we are conscious of iambic, dactylic or anapaestic effects, e.g.:—

dactylic:

87 *τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι.*

110 *εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος εἰπεῖν.*

126 *ψῆφος ἅπασι δέδεικται . . . οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα.*

138 *ἀλλὰ δεδώκατ' ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ.*

198 *Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματ' ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο.*

anapaestic:

127 *μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς*, where the rhythm is broken in the last word.

130 *μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἔμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι . . .*

150 *κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι* (close of sentence).

iambic:

175 *θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους.*

128 *ἢ καλῶν | ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις ; πόθεν | ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι ;* (where the senarius is concealed by its context).

But these rhythms are not characteristic and most of them would disappear with the pauses and emphasis of delivery, e.g. the pause before *πόθεν* makes it go with *ἢ πῶς* and not with the preceding words.

III. Structure.—The great art of an orator consists in enforcing his point with all the resources at his command without wearying his audience: to say the same thing many times without sameness, to make his hearers return again and again to the same point without knowing it, this is the object of the persuasive speaker. To accomplish this it is clear that the orator must use great variety in structure as well as in expression. If the period in its various forms is chiefly discussed in what follows, it must be understood that though this is the predominant form in a highly-finished speech, it is interrupted and varied by many sentences of a simpler and shorter kind.

Thus we find his oratory broken by (1) Smooth narrative passages of some length such as those in the famous description of Athens on the arrival of the news of the capture of Elatea—

169 *ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, κ.τ.λ.,*

or the description of the meagre resources of Athens at the opening of Demosthenes' conflict with Philip—

234 *δύναμιν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις, κ.τ.λ.*

(2) Short sentences, summing up and concentrating the effect of what has gone before, as in

216 *ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατά γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες.*

69 *οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήσειεν.*

103 *καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι.*

or introducing what is to come, a new argument, as in

66 *ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐπανέρχομαι.*

or a piece of evidence, as in 217 *λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα*, and other places where documents are introduced.

(3) Short rhetorical questions, either single, as in

26 *τί δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἠδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω.*

124 *πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῇ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι.*

or in a series, as in

24 *ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ᾽ ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε* (where the double use of *ἀλλά* gives a colloquial touch).

117 *ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα* (followed by two more questions [1]).

Such devices serve to break the monotony of a continuous series of periods. But the period itself, as Dissen long ago pointed out in his edition of this speech (pp. v-lxxvi), is capable of enormous variety, and it is to his freedom and versatility in its employment that much of Demosthenes' excellence is due. Here we can only try to point out some of the chief types of period, and the means by which it is built up and its parts held together. The ideal period is a complex whole, consisting of parts so organically knit together that all are indispensable, and all contribute to the general effect, which is not complete until the last word in it is uttered or read.

The organic unity of the period may be said to depend upon the maintenance of two principles:—

(1) Suspense [2].

(2) Distribution or division.

If the parts of a period are to be bound together into a unity, the attention must be held in suspense until the close; on the other hand the burden of waiting must be relieved by orderly and well-balanced distribution of parts. These principles merge in one another, but a few remarks may be made on each separately.

[1] These are printed by some editors as statements, not questions. In either case they are virtually conditional.

[2] *How to write clearly*, Dr. Edwin Abbott. '*The principle of suspense* Write your sentence in such a way that until he has come to the full stop, the reader may feel the sentence to be incomplete.'

(1) The principle of suspense is maintained by the following means among others.

(i) Subordinate clauses are generally put first, (*a*) relative clauses especially :

1 *ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ . . . τοσαύτην.*

198 *καίτοι ὅτῳ . . . οὗτός ἐστι . . . καὶ ὅτῳ . . . οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον.*

44 *ὅτε γὰρ περιὼν . . . τότε πάντες.*

76 *ὥσπερ . . . οὕτω.*

(*b*) *ὅτι* and *ἵνα* clauses are sometimes put first :

81 *καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης . . . πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος . . . πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος . . . οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ.*

95 *ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας . . . ἐπιδείξω . . . ἓν ἢ δύο βούλομαι . . . διεξελθεῖν.*

(ii) Participial clauses frequently come first.

62 *ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει . . . τῶν ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν . . .* cf. 22, 107, &c.

322, the most striking instance.

87 *ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι . . . , βουλόμενος . . . παρελθὼν . . . ἠξίου . . .*

Sometimes the conditions expressed in the participle are summed up by *οὕτω*, cf. 7.

On the other hand sometimes, as in 45, the main verb comes first, and is followed by a number of participial clauses, held together by particles.

(iii) Infinitive clauses forming the object of the sentence are put first and the governing verb at the end. This is a favourite form of sentence :

57, 8 *τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι . . . τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα . . . στεφανοῦν . . . ἡγοῦμαι.*

254 *τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα . . . τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι . . . νομίζω τὴν πόλιν.*

(2) The second principle, that of distribution or division, is even wider in its range, as it includes all the means whereby the period is broken up into parts, which serve to carry along the reader's attention without disturbing the unity of the whole. It is seen in the balanced partition of a period into clauses,

with or without antithesis, in the effective grouping of words and sentences, in the repetition or echoing of single words or expressions in neighbouring clauses.

We may take first (i) The grouping of words.

Nouns and verbs are often used in groups of two or three or more[1]. The most frequent case of this is found in the double phrases of which Demosthenes has so many, in which the two words, which are generally synonyms, amplify each other and add weight and emphasis to the phrase.

2 *ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προῄρηται.*

172 *ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη.*

When the group contains more than two words, each word generally retains its distinct meaning and value: they are not fused as are many of the pairs of words.

The favourite group is a trio, of adjectives, substantives or verbs.

13 *ὀρθῶς ἔχον . . . πολιτικὸν . . . δίκαιον.*

85 *αἰσχύνην . . . ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα.*

108 *δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις.*

47 *καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει* (climax both in weight and meaning).

61 *ἐξαπατῶν . . . διδοὺς . . . διαφθείρων.*

(ii) The grouping of clauses and sentences. This is largely effected by the free use of *μὲν . . . δέ*, *μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δέ*, &c., and other particles.

(1) *μὲν . . . δέ* may be used merely as connecting particles or they may be used to bring out an opposition.

(*a*) Sometimes to distinguish or set in contrast persons or parties:

41 *σὺ μὲν . . . ἐγὼ δέ*, cf. 209 *σὺ μὲν . . . ἐμὲ δέ.*

68 *τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι . . . ὑμῖν δέ.*

169 *οἳ μὲν . . . οἳ δὲ . . . οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις . . . ὑμεῖς δέ.*

or times:

195 *νῦν μὲν . . . τότε δέ.*

200 *νῦν μέν γε . . . τότε δέ.*

[1] See Index 'double phrases,' and 'arrangement of words.'

(*b*) To distinguish clauses of all sorts, with or without opposition.

Relative clauses :

124, 5 *οὗ μὲν ἦν . . . οὗ δ' ἐγὼ μέν. . . τῇ πόλει δέ* (where there is an antithesis within an antithesis).

250 *ἐν μὲν οἷς . . . ἐν οἷς δὲ . . ἐν οἷς δέ* (notice the trio).

Conditional clauses :

72 *εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν . . . περιείργασμαι . . . εἰ δὲ ἔδει . . . τίνα ἄλλον . . . προσῆκε γενέσθαι ;*

176 *εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' . . . ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ'.*

147 *εἰ μὲν οὖν . . . συμπείθοι . . . ἐὰν δὲ . . . αἱρεθῇ* (in both these passages the subjunctive is used of the alternative adopted).

Similarly

9 *εἰ μὲν οὖν . . . ἐπειδὴ δέ.*

13 *εἰ μὲν . . . νῦν δέ.*

Sometimes *μέν . . . δέ* are used in an ascending scale :

5 *πάντων μὲν . . . μάλιστα δέ.*

100 *καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε . . . πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον.*

179 *οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μέν, κ.τ.λ.*

Sometimes they mark a simple succession or series :

1 *πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα.*

79 *πρῶτον μὲν . . . εἶτα . . . εἶτα . . . μετὰ ταῦτα δέ.*

177 *πρῶτον μὲν . . . εἶτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν.*

Finally it may be noticed that a telling contrast is produced by the use of *δέ* without *μέν*, as in the famous series of antitheses in 265 *ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων* (followed by five more pairs of verbs).

(2) *καὶ . . . καί* is a frequent formula.

72 *ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον ἠναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖεσθαι διετέλουν.*

(3) Other particles commonly used to break up the sentence are :—

τε . . . τε.

85 *ἐάν τε . . . ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως.*

οὔτε . . . οὔτε.

18 ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὔθ' . . . οὐθ . . . ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος . . . ταραχή.

μήτε . . . μήτε. μηδὲ . . . μηδέ.

287 μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι . . . μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν . . . δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν . . . ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν.

(4) οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καί.

2 οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι . . . οὐδὲ . . . ἀλλὰ καί.

99 καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ . . . οὐδ' . . . ἀλλά.

This naturally leads the way to the use of ἀλλά generally Apart from its use in questions and answers (as in 24), it is frequently used to introduce a positive statement after a negative one. In this use the positive clause amplifies by contrast the idea expressed in the negative clause, and so gives it fresh force.

232 οὐκ ἂν οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, . . . ἀλλ' . . .

32 ἵνα μὴ . . . ἐξέλθοιτε . . . ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε . . . .

(5) Sometimes we find the converse of this, the positive clause first, followed and amplified by the negative.

27 ἵνα . . . καὶ μή.

(6) Another form of amplification is by correction—

316 ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας.

65 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ὅπων ἠδύνατο.

(7) One of the most effective forms of partition in Demosthenes is by a pair or a series of questions.

(*a*) Alternative—

63 πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν . . . ἤ.

71 πότερον . . . ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὔ;

(*b*) A series—

158 τίς οὖν ὁ . . .; τίς ὁ . . .; τίς ὁ . . .; οὐχ οὗτος; (where again we find a group of three).

121 τί οὖν . . . τί . . . τί;

282 τίς . . . τῷ . . . τί . . .;

(8) The grouping may be effected without any connecting particles. This figure of asyndeton is very telling both with single words

159 *ἀνθρώπων τόπων πόλεων.*

80 *ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες.*

235 *ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης ἡγεμὼν κύριος πάντων.*

and with clauses

67 *ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, κ.τ.λ.*

All these points are concerned with details of structure, but in the more elaborate periods of the speech they are combined in many different ways. It may suffice to take a few typical periods.

96. The period begins with the subject *ὑμεῖς τοίνυν*, emphasized by the address, *ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*. Then follow genitives absolute expressing the circumstances attending the action, (1) the possessions of Sparta, with a series of places enumerated in asyndeton; (2) the poverty of Athens. Then comes the main verb *ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλίαρτον*, followed by a genitive absolute expressing an unfulfilled condition, which is negatived emphatically at the close, *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς.*

232, 3. A new argument is introduced in a *ὅτι* clause. The subject comes first *ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν* (definition by contrast), his conduct is described negatively, *οὐκ ἄν*, κ.τ.λ., in a conditional clause, amplified by participles. Then comes a long ironical parenthesis, itself containing an *εἰ* clause with a double opposition. The main action is then described positively in a conditional clause opened by *ἀλλά*, with a series of three dependent questions. The conclusion is then introduced by *εἶτα* with a double protasis and apodosis, expressing alternative results. The transition to the next period is made in a plain and short sentence.

306. The contrast is being drawn between the honest and dishonest citizen. The good citizen's part has been described. The period opens with a statement of duty, with its consequences

expressed in two alternatives, in which the condition is expressed in participles and the apodosis in indicatives, the latter member being amplified by an ἀλλά clause. Then follows an amplification by contrast, the part of the bad citizen being described in a series of three clauses οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδέ γ'. In the first clause the subject is amplified by two participles, and the contrast of policies is marked by the preposition ἀντί; the second is more elaborate and consists of two members balancing each other, one participial the other conditional; the third is short and sharp, without complications, and is followed at once by the personal application ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις, which brings us back to the main argument. The period is held together by the unity of construction (δεῖ governing the whole) and the balance of clauses.

The Documents in the Speech on the Crown

We have followed the old practice, more recently abandoned in the edition of Rehdantz-Blass, of printing in the text, but in a different type, the documents which have been handed down as quoted in the *Speech on the Crown*. It seems more convenient to do this, for, although they have no historical value as supplying or confirming information on contemporary facts, they have a certain literary interest, as specimens of the way in which documents may be constructed for a special purpose, and also an historical interest, as having supplied material in the past for theories on the Athenian constitution which have now been abandoned. Since they were subjected to a complete and searching analysis by Droysen in 1839, few people have been found to accept them (or the majority of them) as being the right documents in the right places. The English and French editions named below[1] are inclined to accept the *Decree of the Byzantines* in §§ 90, 91, and the *Decree of the Chersonesites* in § 92, and M. Weil thinks that some of the letters of Philip may be genuine. But the cumulative evidence of the falsity of the other documents is strongly against the genuineness of these, and on the general question Droysen

[1] The documents are most fully discussed by Droysen, *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1839, No. 68, &c. See also Weil, *Les Plaidoyers politiques de Démosthène*, I^e^ Série, and *the Orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown*, G. A. Simcox and W. H. Simcox.

may be said to have proved his case completely. Difficulties of detail will be mentioned in the notes on each document; it is enough here to state briefly, on the lines of Droysen, the various kinds of reason for rejecting their authenticity.

(1) They are often inappropriate to the context, neither confirming the point in question, nor agreeing with the facts as stated by the historians, and they are sometimes inconsistent with Demosthenes' own statements.

(2) The archons' names given in the dates are wrong, and are generally names of men who were never archons.

(3) The names of witnesses and other persons are given informally, the name of the deme or of the father being omitted.

(4) The 'common form' of the documents is not that of the genuine existing documents of the same kind.

(5) They contain names of offices and institutions which do not belong to this period.

(6) The names of witnesses, envoys, &c., given are otherwise not known to us, although we have the names of a large number (Droysen says about 2000) of Demosthenes' contemporaries.

(7) The language, even apart from technical terms, is often that of a much later age.

It is clear that the documents, all or nearly all of them, were not those quoted by Demosthenes in court. What then is their history? Attempts have been made by Boeckh and others to prove that the documents, though not always appropriate to their places, are genuine documents inserted by some scholar who explored the Athenian archives, in some cases getting hold of the wrong documents, and in all confusing the name of the clerk of the prytany with the name of the archon. But this theory, as Droysen pointed out, cannot be maintained, for (1) the Athenian record-office was not such an unbusiness-like place as this implies. The Athenians were a methodical people, cf. Aesch. *in Ctes.* 24 *ἀνάγνωθι ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης.*

(2) It is impossible that the researching scholar should have found ready to hand documents so much in conflict with historical fact. The theory only gets rid of the mere external contradictions of name and date.

(3) The theory does not touch the difficulties of language. We must therefore suppose that they are 'forgeries,' in the sense not of deliberate attempts at imposture, but of compositions probably written by a grammarian or a lecturer to illustrate a course of lectures on the Speech. Whoever may have written them, it was some one who had an inaccurate knowledge of Athenian procedure and of the history of the period, and who had nothing to go upon beyond the text of the orator himself, which he had read without much care. The Speech, no doubt, was much read and lectured on, and when once the documents had been incorporated in the text they were found a convenient addition by the schoolmaster or teacher of rhetoric, and were generally accepted[1]. It will be noticed that no document is found after § 187; the composer at this point, it would seem, thought that he had done enough to show what sort of documents Demosthenes used, and gave up his task.

If we accept the two decrees of the Byzantines and Chersonesites and Philip's letters as genuine, we must suppose that they were inserted when the Speech was first edited for publication; the other documents must still be explained on some such theory as that above. But as the decrees are not free from difficulties of language, and as Philip's letters are for the most part irrelevant, there is good ground for including them in the general condemnation.

The Epigram in § 289 is on a different footing, and is discussed in the note on the passage.

The most recent writer on this subject, E. Drerup, *Ueber die bei den Attischen Rednern eingelegten Urkunden* (Teubner,

[1] One MS. omits all the documents, another omits all but the first ix. In others they appear in the margin. Droysen, *op. cit.*

1898), is mainly concerned with examining the documents in other Speeches than that *On the Crown*. But his pamphlet contains a useful summary of the history of the general question. While he shows good reason for accepting some of the documents in the other Speeches as genuine, he agrees with Droysen as to those in *the Crown*, and inclines to the theory of J. J. Wortmann (*de decretis in Demosthenis Aeschinea extantibus Atticis libelloque Aeschinis*, Marburg 1877), that they were composed by a grammarian or rhetor of Asia Minor about 100 B.C. The theory rests on the resemblance between many of the formulae used in these documents and those found in Greek inscriptions of the towns and islands of Asia of that time.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

Πρῶτον μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχομαι 225
πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ
τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην | ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' 226
ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ'
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης,
τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον
σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς
ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς 2
νόμους καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις
δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροά-
σασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατε-
γνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται
καὶ προῄρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἐᾶσαι
χρήσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν 3
ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μεγάλα,
ἓν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν

ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν, οὐ βούλομαι δὲ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς
4 ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κἂν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ.
227 | πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

5 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῳ τοῦτο συμβαίνῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ
6 καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστον ἐστίν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων

ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὔνους ὢν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, 7
ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἁπάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον 8
διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλῶ, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὔχομαι πρῶτον μέν, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν | ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς 228
τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν Αἰσχί- 9
νης, κἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τἄλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν

τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἡγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

10 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος ᾐτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ' ἦν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὔνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον,

11 καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὤν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾠήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδο-

229 ρίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω | τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ᾖ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

12 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλα-

κισμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ 13
καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὗσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντα ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμὲ δέ, εἴπερ ἐξελέγξειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξῄει 14
ἦ καὶ ἄλλ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι, | καὶ ὁπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο 230
ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτ' ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ 15
φυγὼν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται. εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν

πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθραν προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκὼς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἑτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι
16 φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

17 Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνῆσαι, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῆτε.

18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς
231 οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι | σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὁρῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὔθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως

ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὔθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων
ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος
καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ
ταραχή. ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) 19
τοῖς παρ' ἑκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάν-
τας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς
ἡμάρτανον οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρε-
σκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὡς δὲ ταλαι-
πωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς
νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκα-
σθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ
τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν
εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν 20
συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς
ἑκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε
χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν,
οἳ πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ
τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν
γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ
τῶν ἁπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ
προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἑτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φι-
λίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ',
οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ 232
τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ
παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἄν τις ἐξετάζῃ δικαίως, αἴτια
εὑρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκρι- 21

βολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς Αἰσχίνη κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῇς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὔβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ'
22 οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκειν ἀναιδείας ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιήσασθαι. εἶτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπών σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἡλίκην νυνὶ διεξῇεις ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν
23 με τῆς πόλεως, ἠγανάκτησας ἢ παρελθὼν ταῦτα ἃ νυνὶ κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας
233 οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδείς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξελελεγμένοι, οὔθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν.

χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα 24
ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας
εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ
τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα,
οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε.
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι
μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν
εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλε-
μον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. οὔκουν
οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ
φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὧν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν
ἀληθὲς ὂν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, 25
ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἑκάτερος προείλετο
πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ Φιλίππῳ
πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν
ἔγραψα βουλεύων ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσ-
βεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυν-
θάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ
οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ 26
τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω.
Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ
χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον.
διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε | ἡμέρας 234
μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι,

πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὃ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἕξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων
27 ἕνεκα. ἃ ἐγὼ προορώμενος ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾖ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνοιντ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θρᾴκης κατασταίη, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥᾳδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς
28 ἐπιχειροίη πράγμασιν. εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾤμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἥκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ σμικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβών, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη. λέγε.

| ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ 235
νέᾳ, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους 29
Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς
εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ
τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἡ ἐπιχειρο-
τονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθη-
ναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν μηδεμίαν
ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον,
καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ
ταῖς ὡμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον,
συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἡρέ-
θησαν Εὔβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν
Ῥαμνούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμ- 30
φέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες
οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθῆντο ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς
ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θρᾴκης πάντα
καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, ὁμοίως δὲ τριῶν
ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφῖχθαι καὶ τὰ
χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας τοὺς ὅρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον
ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἤψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν,
ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὡρκίζομεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρ-
τήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν | ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην 236
καὶ τὰ χωρία.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα μὲν 31
Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων
τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμο-
λογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις· ἕτερον δ' εὐθὺς
ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μεῖζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ 32

γὰρ ὥμοσε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα μή, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσαιτε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κἀκεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν
33 καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν. ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὑτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς
34 εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα
237 ἐποιούμην ἕτερον, πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη κἀμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα
35 τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο: ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν

ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τοὐναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μᾶλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' ἁσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ 36
τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι 37
τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἁμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

| ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας 238
ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἑκάστους, ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὃς ἂν δ' ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφί- 38
σματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μή τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτόν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν

ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.

Ἆρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;

39 Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἴσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἑκουσίως
239 προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγηοχότας, | τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ πλεῖον ἐνοχλῆσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὑμῶν συνθήκαις, ὥστε εἰ̓ν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.

40 Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους ὅτι ἐγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων, ὥστ' εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε, οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ᾧχετ' ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖνον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς
41 οἱ ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως

αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἁπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτῆμ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα | πράξαντος. 240

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον 42
ἴσως ἁρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῄρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ 43
καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτῆρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφενακισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἤλπισαν, ἦγον τὴν εἰρήνην, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιιὼν 44

Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλούς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος ἐπολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ
45 ἠσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προύλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνύσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ
241 διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ | ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἁπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἑκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρωι κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν βούλωνται.
46 εἶτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥᾳθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τἆλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνομάζοντο ἠνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τἆλλ' ἃ προσήκει
47 πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. οὐδεὶς γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὢν ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν

εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῇ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδὼς τότε δή, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν 48
πραγμάτων καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προύδωκεν Ὄλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὔδικος καὶ Σῖμος οἱ Λαρισαῖοι, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν. εἶτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων
καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων | πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη 242
μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ 49
σαφέστατ' ἄν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλεῖστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν Αἰσχίνῃ τοῖς προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σῷοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ 50
λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι. αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἣν

ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δὲ ἴσως οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ
51 εἰπεῖν ὁτιοῦν εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων "ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί." ἐγώ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἴποιμ' ἂν ἐγώ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους
52 καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότερον
243 ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, | δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν.
53 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἃ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

54 ΓΡΑΦΗ. Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ

θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, 55
τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐόντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις | τραγῳδῶν **244**
τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.

Ἃ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 56
ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἑκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ 57
λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα 58
"ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῷ" στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ

στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. οὕτωσὶ μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δικαίως καὶ ἁπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί
59 μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ
245 πράττειν | τὰ ἄριστά με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἱλόμην ἐγώ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

60 Ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προύλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ.
61 παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην ὅσην οὐδείς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγονυῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας

ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἑνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοίᾳ 62
τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ. πότερον αὐτὴν 63
ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν 246
τὴν αὑτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν (δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς), ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προῃσθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ 64
νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἄν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περιεωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργείους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον 65
δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ

μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος, ᾤχετ' εὐθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὑτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ἢν ἄν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἁπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιεῖλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἠδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἁπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

66 Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν
247 | σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῄδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
67 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἑωρῶν δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὅ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἡ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης
68 ζῆν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι,

ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε
ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν
ἐγγενέσθαι ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι
καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν
Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐν πᾶσι
καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς
ὑπομνήμαθ' ὁρῶσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι ὥστε τῆς
ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι
Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν τοίνυν 69
ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν
ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν
ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον
δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ | καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην 248
χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἤδη
γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τἆλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν Πύδναν
Ποτίδαιαν Ἀλόννησον· οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρ- 70
ριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ
ὅσ' ἄλλα ἡ πόλις ἠδικεῖτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι
σύ γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν
τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπείθους
τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὧ
λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῇς. οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ 71
τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἐκεῖνος σφετερι-
ζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν,
καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεόν,
καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῷ

Φιλιστίδην τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν εἰς ἃς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἠδίκει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὔ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν
72 ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μουσῶν λεῖαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπών, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματα ἐμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον
249 ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον | προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον ἠναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προϊέσθαι διετέλουν.

73 Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα λαβών, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων, τίς τίνος αἴτιός ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησία σύγκλητος ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὔβουλος Μνησιθέου Κύπριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ παρὰ

Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγήοχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι καὶ αἱρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἳ 74
παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδέν· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβών, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν | ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ 250
ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.

Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὔβουλος ἔγραψεν, 75
οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, βουλῆς γνώμῃ, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἵλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος. Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.

Ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, 76
οὕτω σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἴτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

77 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ
251 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς | ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐναυάρχει Λαομέδων. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἰ οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριει-
78 ληλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοιναῖς κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τινῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κἀγὼ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.

79 Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὑτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ ἔγραφεν·
252 τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ | τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν, ἡνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἥπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις
80 ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀπο-

στόλους ἁπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πειαθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὦν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὔνους ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντεις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν 81
ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἡδίκει μηδένα ἐξετάζειν παντάχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ 82
τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυσν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ πρόξενείς αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὦ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' 253
οὐ σέ, ἀλλὰ βοᾶς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες σήμερον. στε- 83
φανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἅσπερ οὑτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν

τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὔτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

84 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καί τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὔνους ὢν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν
254 πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ | τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.

85 Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι ἂν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ᾖ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τοὺς χρόνους τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ

στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν 87
ἐξηλάθη τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε 88
ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν | ἅπασιν. 255
ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἁπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ 89
τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπείρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστὰς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις

διήγαγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μὴ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προῄρηνται. λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

90 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχω Δαμάγητος ἐν τᾷ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥήτραν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἔν τε τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέως διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἔν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππου τῶ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ'
256 ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος | καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὁπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἁμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμως καὶ τὼς τάφως,
91 δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πύθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἦμεν πασᾶν τᾶν λειτουργιᾶν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἐκκαιδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῶ δάμω τῶ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τᾷ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριας, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στεφάνως ὡς ἐστεφάνωται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλλανες τάν τε Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.

92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ. Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες

Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυτον Ἀλωπεκόννησον στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα, καὶ χάριτος βωμὸν ἱδρύονται καὶ δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, | τὴν ἐλευ- 257
θερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93
σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τήν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὃ μέν γε σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἑωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὗ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον ἢ μιαρώτερον; ὑμεῖς 94
δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν καὶ εὔνοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον ἡ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων 95
καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας

ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ᾗ δύο βούλομαι
258 τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ | πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ
96 δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἁρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὔβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἁλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν
97 τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἑώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι

ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι 98
πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἳ Λακεδαιμονίους
οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν
ἡμῶν ἠδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαίοι κρατή-
σαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε,
οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε | Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν 259
ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων
κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι. καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς 99
Ἕλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κἂν ὁτιοῦν τις εἰς
ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτῃ, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τἆλλα ἔχετε,
ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς
καταλαμβάνῃ, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε.
καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν
σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὔβοιαν οὐ περιείδετε,
οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὠρωπὸν
ἠδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις,
τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ
πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οὔπω περὶ τούτων. καὶ 100
καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ
δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν
σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως
αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε
ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα
εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζάς,
στρατείας, καὶ πάλαι γεγονυίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν, ἃς ἁπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων

101 ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται. εἶτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν: μνησικακεῖν νὴ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις
260 ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. | καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα: ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ. εἰ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών: οὐκ ἐξῆν; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι:

102 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπολιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον,
103 ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν

ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ μοι διδόναι ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβαλόντα ἐὰν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ 104
ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνό- 261
μενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δῆ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον 105
τὴν γραφήν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τόν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πριτανευούσης Ἱπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον. 106

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

262 | ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. *Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμημα, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ᾖ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.*

107 *Ἆρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι: οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεὶς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ὡς ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὔτ' ἔξω καταληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη*
108 *ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προῃρούμην πολιτεύματα ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει,*
263 *βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν | καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολί-*

τευμα ἐμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταὐτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν 109
πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἱλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων.

Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγ- 110
ματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστά τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὔνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλῶσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστά γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἶτα, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν 111
ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἠδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἁπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτῳ γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν ἢ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν. ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας 112
οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν

264 ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις | Αἰσχίνη:) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὢν τύχῃ. τίς γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστὸς ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἷς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι.

113 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὢν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, ἐπήνεσεν αὐτόν φησιν ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα. οὐ περὶ τούτων γε οὐδενὸς ὢν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὦ συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα. καὶ διά γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπῃνούμην, ὅτι τἀνηλωμένα ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ'

114 ἔγραψεν ὀδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὥρισται, ἐγὼ ῥᾳδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἶθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἶθ' οὗτος Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὤν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ

διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ | κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας 265
ὑφέξει. ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψη- 115
φίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ μετ' εἰκάδα. γνώμῃ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπε ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῳ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῖσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας. ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόν- 116
των βουλῆς γνώμῃ. ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως | ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας πρυ- 266
τάνεις ἀγωνοθέτας.

Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν 117
ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὢν ὧν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον; καὶ

δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέδωκα. νὴ Δί' ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἶτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

118 Ἵνα τοίνυν ἴδητε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἃ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ καταστὰς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾶ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ
287 ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.

119 Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι· ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφῃ. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

120 Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, τὸ

μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων εἵνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ. Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μή τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις [ἀναγορεύεσθαι].

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, πλὴν 121
ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ | ψηφίσηται· τούτους δὲ 268
ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὀμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα 122
τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφήν, εἶτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος,

ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. καὶ βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ
123 σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπείληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχω-
124 μεν ἐάν τις ἠδικηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἵλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῇ; ἐμὸν
269 δῆλον ὅτι. εἶτα οὗ μὲν ἦν παρ' | ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἠδίκουν, ἐξέλιπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις
125 κρίσεσιν· οὗ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῷος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης.

ἐνταῦθα ἀπῆντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς, ἐμὸς δὲ προσποιῇ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι 126
δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον
ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ
πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ
αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ἄρχει
τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς
εἰρηκὼς ἃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων
φθέγξασθαι: εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως 127
ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα
ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ'
εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεὶς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ
ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ
τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλού-
μενον, ᾗ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται·
ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ δὲ 128
ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ καλῶν
ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις: πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι;
ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἧς τῶν μὲν ὡς
ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ | αὐτοῦ 270
τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειεν,
τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιου-
μένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν
ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι
περίεστιν.

129 Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν,
ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου
Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ
διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ
ξύλον, ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ
κλείσιῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν
ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε;
ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου
δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργα-
σίας; ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ
σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ
130 δόξω προῃρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ'
αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν
ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. ὀψὲ γάρ
ποτε—, ὀψὲ λέγω: χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἀμ' Ἀθη-
ναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς
τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον,
τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἔμπουσαν
ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην· ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ
πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι δῆλον ὅτι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας
131 τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάρι-
στος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου
271 καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ | πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς οὐχ
ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ
τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν ἔστι τις ἀμφι-
σβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω·

ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερῶς ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀντιφῶν- 132
τα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον
ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βοῶν
ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ
δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ
ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν.
καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα 133
αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι
συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπεζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ
συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ
τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδὺς ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ
τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες
αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. Τοιγαροῦν 134
εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τοῦτῳ
πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας
ἥσπερ πολλὰ προεῖσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προσείλεσθε
κἀκείνην καὶ τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον
μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν
προσέταξεν. καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν
ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία | ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιαρῷ 272
τούτῳ. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς 135
μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων οἵδε, Καλλίας Σουνιεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτίονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

136 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ: οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προύδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερῶς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τἀναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

137 Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν
273 πολεμίων | πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνῄει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ

πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἱσταμένου.

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείπω. 138
καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὑρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἣν προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἑλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συναγωνί- 139
ζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μέν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πῶς γὰρ οὔ;
κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ 274
τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἅνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος, ὅ τι μὲν πώποτ' ἔπραξεν

ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος ἰαμβειοφάγος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα. ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

140 Ἆρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακόν: οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἓν δ' ἐπεξειργάσατο ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοιοῦτον ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνήλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τἀληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτον ἐστί· πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τἀκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς.

141 Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς
275 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε | πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνων γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς

ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὑτωσὶ σφο- 142
δρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ 143
πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ δι' ὃν ἡρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμὼν ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἷς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 'πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν' οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἥτις δ' ἡ φύσις ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι γέγονε τούτων τῶν 144
πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ἀκούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεάσεσθε.

Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ 145
Φιλίππῳ, | εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς 276

ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν λῃστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων
146 οὐδέν, οὔτ' εἰσήγετο ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ. ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρειττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων διιέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ
147 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἱρεθῇ, ῥᾷον ἤλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν πυλαίαν ταραχήν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς
148 ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ᾖ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ
149 συνέβη. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάτ-

τοντος, ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν | γίγνεσθαι, 277
προβληθεὶς πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων
χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως
ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα
τἄλλ' ἀφεὶς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέραινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη,
καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία
χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους
ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς
ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν 150
ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν
ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἠτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν
δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἃ νῦν οὗτος
προφασίζεται λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν.
οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς
δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλή-
τευσεν ἡμᾶς: ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα,
δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει
ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιόντων τοίνυν τὴν 151
χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν
τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ μὲν κατηκόν-
τισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερο-
μνημόνων. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ
πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἦγαγε στρατιάν,
ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν,
εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς

ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ
152 τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. καὶ
προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἦ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν
278 καὶ ξένους τρέφειν | ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ
ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἱρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ
λέγειν; ἠρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ'
εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν
Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ
153 Λοκροῖς τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν οὖν
μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ
μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο
τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ'
ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ
ὅσον καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα
ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν'
εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα
154 αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν. λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ. Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.

155 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς πυλαίας,
279 ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων | καὶ
τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν
χώραν καταπεπατήκασι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλύ-

μενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασι, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἠρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἱροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ. Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.

Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἥν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ 156
Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων 280
τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς 157
ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῴου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ

'Αθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανέμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίοις. εὐτυχεῖτε.

158 Ὁρᾶθ' ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἑνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἑνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν
159 τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἷς οὑτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἁπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων τόπων πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων αἴτιος.
281 ὃν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς | ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔστι παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

160 Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφῖχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἕνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν
161 ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρ-

μένων παρ' ἑκατέροις ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐᾶν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἑτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὔβουλον 162
πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεί. οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μέν, ὦ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾷς ἐμοί, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον 163
τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' | ἡμᾶς, οὗπερ ἕνεκα τὰς πόλεις 282
οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος 164
ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθηίδος, βουλῆς καὶ

στρατηγῶν γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἃς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις. δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ἠρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σῖμος Ἀναγυράσιος. Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος. Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

165 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μουνυχιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, πολεμάρχου γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παρα-
283 γίγνεσθαι | τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἠρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου. Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὔνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.

166 *Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.*

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἑστηκότων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρός με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμεληκότες. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἕτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς.

ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θη- 167
βαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν
ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην [1] ἀνανεοῦσθε. 284
πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλο-
τιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ
μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ
προαιρέσει· νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν
εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην καὶ
μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι
περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ
οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς
προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας 168
διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ
ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν
Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι
συμπνευσάντων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν
τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες,
μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα.

Ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς 169
πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς
τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ
τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετ-
επέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου
πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευ-
285 τήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν | ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ
πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος
170 ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ
ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς
καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἠρώτα μὲν
ὁ κῆρυξ 'τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;' παρῆει δ' οὐδείς.
πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
ἀνίστατ' οὐδείς, ἁπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων
ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῇ
κοινῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς
171 πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς
σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες
ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ
βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν
ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι·
εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοῦς τῇ πόλει καὶ
πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπι-
δόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν.
172 ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη
οὐ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ
καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ
συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν
ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς
μηδ' ἐξητακὼς πόρρωθεν, οὔτ' εἰ εὔνους ἦν οὔτ' εἰ

πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν
εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν 173
οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον
εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅ μου | δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες 286
τὸν νοῦν, ἑνὸς μέν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων
καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς
δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξητα-
ζόμην τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς,
ἑτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ πρὸς
τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι.
εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων 174
Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα
πράγμαθ' ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως
ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ
ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν'
ἕτοιμα ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι.
'ὡς δ' ἔχει' ἔφην 'ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκεῖνος 175
ὅσους ἢ πεῖσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν,
ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας
αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πεῖσαι δύναται.
τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατεί-
ληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ
ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς
ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ
συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἢ βια-
σθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς' ἔφην 176

'ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνῆσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων
287 τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων | αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον
177 τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. τί οὖν φημὶ δεῖν: πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἶτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσὶν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσινάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἕτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ'. ἐάν τις ἐπ'
178 αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε

τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ
ὁ καιρός) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν ἂν κελεύωσιν,
ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον
ἢ κεῖνοι προορωμένων, ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ
πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν | διῳκημένοι 288
καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πρά-
ξωμεν, ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἄν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ
μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ᾖ πεπραγμένον.' ταῦτα 179
καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαινε-
σάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν
οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα
μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ
ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων
ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν
ἁπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. καί
μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν 180
ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ: βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν
ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάταλον,
σὲ δὲ μηδ' ἥρωα τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν
Κολλυτῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον κακὸς κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε
τοίνυν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάταλος
Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην
τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα·

ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ἔπραττον. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

181 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημο-
289 σθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ | Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι
182 ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὠμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας.
183 καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὑτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζομένας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν
184 προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταδουλουμένους. διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι
290 περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν | Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσινάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων
185 χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ

ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἕλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων 186
δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐγγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς | Θηβαίους· διό- **291**
περ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ 187
τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ 188
καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμ- 189
βουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μέν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ,

τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὃ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει
190 λέγειν, ἄν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι ὥστε, ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἑώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγώ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε
292 ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, | τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ
191 ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἑλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, 'τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται,' οὐ 'τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων,' οὐδὲ 'τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι.' σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριὼν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπέ, τίς ἦ λόγος ὄντιν' ἐχρῆν εὑρεῖν ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;
192 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν

μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῇς, 193
εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ' ἤδη κατηγόρει μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς 194
μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, | τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις 293
ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα, καὶ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἄν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὅρα· εἰ 195
μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἵμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρὴν προσδοκᾶν εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ' ἐκεῖνος πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που

τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στῆναι συνελθεῖν ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ'—, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ἄ γε μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὔνοια καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

196 Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι, τὰ πολλά, πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ προῄδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ
294 τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα | κατηγορεῖς
197 ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὔπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὔθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο) οὔτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως. τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι

φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν 198
ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνεπηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῇς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. πράττεταί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης, ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλο- 199
μαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προῄδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προύλεγες Αἰσχίνη καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον | τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἡ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ 295
μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν μέν γε ἀποτυχεῖν 200
δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ

201 τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ κύριος ῥήτωρ Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ᾑρημένης.
202 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἑᾶν ἕτερον
203 τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυ-
206 νεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα | διατετέλεκεν. καὶ ταῦθ'
204 οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε, εἰκότως. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς

τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκ' αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα 205
οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ 206
προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας | τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν 207
πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν 207
ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς

ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης
208 ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως· ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται, τῇ τύχῃ δ'. ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἑκάστοις,
209 ταύτῃ κέχρηνται. ἔπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐμ' ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὼν ἀγών οὑτοσί; ἐμὲ δέ, ὦ τριταγωνιστά, περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια
210 ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἂν ἀπέθανον, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς,
298 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τάς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ

ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίητε κρινοῦντες, εἴπερ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγό- 211
νοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ' ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτῃ γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται 212
ὥστ', εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντων ἁπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι, καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος ; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

299 | ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

213 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἠξίουν ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τἆλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἥξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταὐτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον.

214 ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου. ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ἃ δ' οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἃ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

215 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. ἐξῆτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τἀν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως

οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ | ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν 300
στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἓν μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἑλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες 216
Ἀθηναῖοι, κατά γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δίς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας μάχας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην 217
Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἡ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ
301 ἄριστα νῦν | ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν: λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

218 Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἦμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἵας τότ' ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

219 Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κέφαλος Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥᾳστώνην,

ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν: εἴποι τις 220
ἄν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα
ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην
μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν ὥστ'
οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας
ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' | ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι εἰ μηδὲν 302
παραλείπων τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ 221
ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην,
μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε
πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προ-
θυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυ-
τὸν ἔταττον. λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, 222
Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς
καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους.
ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὺ
παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ
μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα
τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου
δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς αὐτὰς 223
συλλαβὰς καὶ ταὐτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν
Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὑτοσί. καὶ
ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὔτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ

συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ μοὺ νῦν
224 κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων
303 μὴ κατηγορηκέναι | ταὐτὰ γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' ἐᾶν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὑτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων
225 προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τότε ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα ἃ μήτε προῄδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾠήθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπρα-
226 γμένοις δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν ἥκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

227 Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἥκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι, ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ λογίζησθε, ἂν καθαραὶ ὦσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε,

οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ᾖ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ 228
σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὡμολόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς |
ἐζήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως 304
περὶ ἑκατέρου. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μετα- 229
θέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥᾳδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμός) ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο, μεθ' ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ 230
τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἑπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἆρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν 231
ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμό-

τητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐῶ ταῦτα.

232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ
305 ἂν οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, | τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα),
233 ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἡ πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῄει, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τἀδίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῷ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

234 Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ ἅπαντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὁπλίτην δ' ἢ ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὃ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον

καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν
τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω,
Μεγαρεῖς Θηβαίους Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως 235
οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ'
εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν
ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν
ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον
μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἁπάντων· εἶθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον ἐν
ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν
ἃ | δόξειεν αὐτῷ οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, 306
οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων
παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς
αὐτὸς δεσπότης ἡγεμὼν κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς 236
τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον)
τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν
πρῶτον, οὗ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προυτίθεθ'
ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσα
οὗτοι περιγένοιντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα,
δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττω- 237
μάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας
Ἀχαιοὺς Κορινθίους Θηβαίους Μεγαρέας Λευκαδίους
Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι
ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων
συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δέ, ὅσων ἠδυνήθην ἐγώ, πλεί-
στην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς 238

Θηβαίους δίκαια Αἰσχίνη ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ. πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἕλλησι περιστάντος αὐτὴ διπλάσια τῶν
239 ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἁπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. εἶτα
307 κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας τουτοισὶ | συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἐβουλόμεθα ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος.

240 Ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν; οὐχ ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν βουλόμενοι
241 μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας

τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὅμορος καὶ βαρὺς
εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἅπλους δ' ἡ
θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁρμωμένων λῃστῶν
γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς
τούτοις ἕτερα: πονηρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν 242
ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ
φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τἀνθρώπιόν
ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον,
αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος
ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἥκει τῇ
πατρίδι: νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων;
ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν 243
εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι | δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται 308
τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ
νομιζόμεν' αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα
διεξίοι "εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὑτοσί, οὐκ ἂν
ἀπέθανεν." ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἥτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾷς ἐφ' ᾗ 244
στένειν σε ὧ κατάρατε προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ'
ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὑτωσὶ δὲ λογί-
ζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτὴς ἐπέμφθην
ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου
πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ
ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ
Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα
ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ

245 τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἴς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἕνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι: καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἑκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω
246 σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας ὄκνους ἀγνοίας
309 φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς | πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἁπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἁμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστον συστεῖλαι, καὶ τοὐναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μή ποθ' εὕρῃ κατ' ἐμὲ
247 οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιτο ὁντινοῦν, τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὢν κατέπραξε διῳκήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ δια-

φθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

Ἃ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα 248
γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν, ἃ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκώς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· 310
ἔπειθ' αἱρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν 249
ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὔτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεούς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμην. δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα

250 δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκήτως πάντα πεπρᾶχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων τί προσῆκεν ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦσαν;

251 Ναί φησιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φυγεῖν. καὶ νὴ Δί' εὔδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ

311 τί μᾶλλον | ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρός γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὡμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

252 Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἄν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μέν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας,

πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν 253
ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ἡμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινήν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπείραται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα 254
καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ προεῖντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς | ἠβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν 312
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετειληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην 255
τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἑνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὑτωσὶ περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὃ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν 256
Αἰσχίνῃ προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, κἂν εὕρῃς

τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ μηδείς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὔτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετρώτατα χρήσομαι.

257 Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν τριηραρχεῖν εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ
313 προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα | ἑλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν ἃ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν
258 λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς

τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ
βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου
τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος 259
τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἆλλα
συνεσκευωροῦ. τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων
καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ
πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ
καὶ κελεύων λέγειν "ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον," ἐπὶ
τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος
καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι
μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ 260
ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν,
τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς
ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς
αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὕης
ἄττης ἄττης ὕης, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιστο-
φόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων
προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν | λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα 314
καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς
ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην:
ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε, ἐῶ 261
γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλ-
λιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν
τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου,
πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ
κατῄσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ

262 ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν
263 τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεὶς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἵλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνῄδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὢν ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὤψαι.
264 καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιος ἐστίν; πολλὰ
315 τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν | ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνείδη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

265 Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κἀμοὶ βεβιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἶτ' ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἕλοιθ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ'

ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐῶ τἆλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ 266
τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γ', οὐχ ὁρᾷς; τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν 267
λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου, "ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας" καὶ "κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με," καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν δὲ 268
τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ | φιλάν- 316
θρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπείληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν 269

μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπείλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

270 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῷος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι.

271 εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἁπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἵαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι.

272 σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφεὶς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπο-
317 λιτευμένον αἰτιᾷ, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ | μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς

ἐκκλησίαις ἁπάσαις, ἀεὶ δ' ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἡ 273
πόλις προυτίθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταὐτ' ἐδόκει τότ'
ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ
παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα
προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς
ἀληθείας ἠττώμενος δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν
εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τού-
τοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν ὧν τότ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω: 274
παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-
ποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ
τις ἑκών: ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ
τις ἄκων: συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ. οὔτ'
ἀδικῶν τις οὔτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα
συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δοὺς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἁπάντων;
οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον,
ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως 275
οὐ μόνον τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς
ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν.
Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀν-
θρώπους ὠμότητι καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς
ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἁπλῶς καὶ μετ' 276
εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκὼς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ
τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ | παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπα- 318
τήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ'
ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ

περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσ-
277 εἶναι. κἀκεῖνο δ' εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα— ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖστον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὑρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τοὐναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται.
278 οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις·
279 ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ
319 ἀδικήματος πώποτε | δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου,

δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον καὶ τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἥκειν πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, 280
λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος Αἰσχίνη τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὕσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως 281
ἔχων τὴν ψυχήν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προορᾶταί τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς: ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ συμφέρονθ' εἱλόμην τοῦτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἆρ' 282
οὖν οὐδὲ σύ: καὶ πῶς: ὃς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἃ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως: οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μεῖζον ἔχοι

320 τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα | κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταὐτὰ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει: σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὑρέθης.
283 εἶτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγεῖ γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ: ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ μεμνῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν
284 τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὖσαν ἀληθῆ. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ὡμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος: ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγονὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὑρήσεις.

285 Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἠμνημόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὔφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα,

οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος
σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους | ὠμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ 321
θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταὐτὰ ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνί, καὶ
λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' 286
αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι κἀγώ.
ἀμφότερ' ἤδεσαν οὗτοι, τήν τ' ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ προ-
θυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμε-
τέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων
ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις
ὡμολογήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν
ὢν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι,
φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. εἶτα 287
καὶ προσήκειν ὑπελάμβανον τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετε-
λευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ'
ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς
πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν
καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ
τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι,
μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν ἐκείνων
τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἑώρων
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὔ. διὰ ταῦτ'
ἔμ' ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος 288
οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἱρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως
πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον ὡς παρ'
οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τἄλλ' εἴωθε

γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω· ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι
322 καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον μετεῖχεν.

289 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὑτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῇς Αἰσχίνη καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρόν. λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἵδε πάτρας ἕνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀίδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βράβην,
οὕνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αἰχένι θέντες
δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις.
μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν
ἐν βιοτῇ, μοῖραν δ' οὔ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

290 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὡς τὸ μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν ὦ κατάρατ' ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν;

291 Πολλὰ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστ' ἐθαύμασα

πάντων ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς
οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην,
οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ,
ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ | γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων 323
ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν δῆλον ὅτι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε
καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαροῖς οὐδὲν
ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ 292
τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνί,
καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταὐτὰ λυπεῖσθαι
καὶ ταὐτὰ χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει
τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. ὃ σὺ
νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι'
ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων
ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη 293
παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ
συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν
ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὔτ' ἂν
ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια
ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμ ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα
τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα ἄλλα 294
κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὃς γὰρ ἐμοῦ
φιλιππισμόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ
ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς,

εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες,
324 τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ | παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων εὕροιτ'
295 ἄν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἳ ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά, πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος Κινέας Θρασύδαος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς Ἱερώνυμος Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργείους Μύρτις Τελέδαμος Μνασέας, Ἠλείους Εὐξίθεος Κλεότιμος Ἀρίσταιχμος, Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυωνίους Ἀρίστρατος Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος Δημάρετος, Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ἔλιξος Περίλαος, Θηβαίους Τιμόλας Θεογείτων Ἀνεμοίτας,
296 Εὐβοέας Ἵππαρχος Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέγοντα ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσίν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὑτῶν πατρίσιν ὧνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις

τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα
ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν ὅροι
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου 297
συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὦ ἄνδρες | Ἀθηναῖοι 325
προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευ-
θερίας, ἥ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος
γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν.
εἶτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ
δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι
διαφθαρέντων ἁπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον
μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε 298
καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγε-
θος οὔτ' ἐλπὶς οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ
προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ
πατρίδι οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα
πώποτε τουτοισί, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ῥέπων
ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ
δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων δὴ
πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς
πάντα ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ 299
ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον ὃν σύ
μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ
ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν
ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα
τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον

τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ [πολλοὺς] ἵππους καὶ
300 τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. ταῦτα προυβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν
326 κύκλον | τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεος. οὐδέ γ' ἠττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις: ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

301 Τί χρῆν τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον: οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὔβοιαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται,
302 προϊδέσθαι: καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἄβυδον, τὴν Εὔβοιαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ

τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὦ ἄνδρες 303
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς
εὑρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν
ἑκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ
προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν
καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ δαίμονός
τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν
προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα ταῦτα
ἐλυμαίνετο | τοῖς ὅλοις ἕως ἀνέτρεψεν, τί Δημοσθένης 327
ἀδικεῖ: εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ 304
τάξιν, εἷς ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ
ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἕνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία καὶ
ἕνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταὐτὰ φρονοῦντ' ἔσχεν ἐμοί, οὐδεὶς
οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς
παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες 305
ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς
ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ᾤκουν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων
καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις
ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῷ τοῖς
λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν
φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβών.

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν 306
κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις
ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν,
ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι

καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαί-
307 ρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ
πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν
συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναν-
τίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς
πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς
πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ
τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἂν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο
μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον
328 καὶ ὕπουλον, | ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν
308 ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ
τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἁπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην
οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ'
ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ
δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς
λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα
ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τἀνθρώπινα)·
εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς
ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς καὶ
συνειλοχὼς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς
καὶ ἀπνευστί, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ'
ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν
309 πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς
μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἴπερ ἐκ ψυχῆς
δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα
προῃρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς

καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων 310
γὰρ ἁπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὁποστοσοῦν, οὔκουν ἐπί γε οἷς ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξ- 311
αντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτῆσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία; τίς διακονία δι' | ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλη- 329
νικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἱππικόν; τί τῶν ἁπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων παρὰ σοῦ; οὐδεμία. ἀλλ' ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὔνοιά γε καὶ 312
προθυμία. ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγξαντ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρῆλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν

συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον.
313 ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος
ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ'
οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ
φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ
τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύῃ. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας
καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός: ἡνίκ' ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέῃ, ἐν
τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς
ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

314 Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν
μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν,
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὔνοιαν
330 ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα | παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους
ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ'
315 ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι
πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς
τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ: οὕτως
οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ
νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι: μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ
δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον
εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταὐτά σοι προῃρημένων καὶ ζώντων.
316 κἀκεῖνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει
διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὔσας ὑπερμεγέθεις,
οὐ μὲν οὖν εἶποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα
βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν
ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς

παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι: καὶ 317
μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία
καὶ προαίρεσις, ἄν τις σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότ' ἐπαινου-
μένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταὐτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται,
ἡ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων·
δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσάν τινες οἳ διέσυρον
μὲν τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους
ἐπῄνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταὐτὸ ποιοῦντες σοί.
εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις ἐγώ· σὺ δ' 318
ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις
τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλὰ
πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν
ζῶντα ἐξέταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὑτόν, ὥσπερ τἆλλα
πάντα, τοὺς | ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. 331
ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καὶ τινῶν 319
ἑτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος
ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῄει, ἀλλ' ὅτι
τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμάχετο, ἐστε-
φανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς
νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτόν, πρὸς ὁντινα βούλει
τῶν ἁπάντων· οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὧν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ 320
πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς
εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ
κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφί-
σμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα διῳκεῖτο, ὑμῶν
δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι

δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι
συμβούλων ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων
καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἑτοίμων καὶ τῶν
κολακεύειν ἕτερον βουλομένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, τηνικαῦτα
σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς
ἱπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὔνους
321 μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι
περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν
ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ
πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ
καὶ πράξει τὴν εὔνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία,
τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύτην τοίνυν
322 παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὑρήσετε ἁπλῶς. ὁρᾶτε δέ.
οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας δίκας ἐπα-
332 γόντων, | οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους
τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς
ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας
εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμάς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας
τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ
323 τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι
φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περι-
έρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος
τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ
τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικὼς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ

κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὑτοὺς διασύροντες ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασὶ δεῖν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύ- 324
σειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

DEMOSTHENES

SPEECH ON THE CROWN

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PART II.—NOTES

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NOTES

SPEECH ON THE CROWN.

Analysis of the Speech.

§§ 1–8. *Introductory.*

I PRAY the gods to give me at your hands a fair and friendly hearing. §§ 1, 2.

I am at a great disadvantage (1) because failure is more serious for me, and (2) it is hard to defend myself without giving offence—but it is Aeschines' fault if I have to give an account of my acts. §§ 3, 4.

The action is directed against Ctesiphon, but really concerns me closely, and I therefore beg a fair hearing such as Solon's law laid down, securing equal justice for all alike. §§ 5–7.

I pray the gods once more for your good will, and for a decision which shall tend to your honour and advantage. § 8.

§§ 9–12. *The case is concerned not with my private life, but with my public acts,*

Answer to Aeschines' charges. §§ 9–53.

(1) Private life. §§ 9–12.

Aeschines has forced me to go beyond the limits of the indictment. As to his charges against my private life, if they are true, condemn me at once—if false, never trust him again. His ribaldry shall not divert me from the main issue, *the defence of my public life.* § 9.

which he attacks with malice.

The accusations are many, but all are dictated by a spirit of malice. The crimes I am charged with should have been dealt with at the time by the appropriate processes of law, impeachment, indictment for illegal acts, &c. Instead of this he waits till all is past, and then comes on the stage with a pack of false charges, and accuses me indirectly through Ctesiphon. He ought to have fought out the battle with me instead of making a victim of a third person. § 12.

§§ 17–52. *He is refuted by an account of the state of affairs.*

All his charges are unjust and untrue. § 17.

§§ 17-24. (1) *Before the Peace.*

To take them in detail:

First, his account of my share in the negotiations for the Peace. Let me remind you of the situation at the time (346).

§ 18. You wished for the safety of Phocis, you were ill-disposed to Thebes, because of its arrogance after Leuctra; Peloponnese was divided, neither Sparta nor her enemies being strong enough to do anything. Philip, seeing how things stood, by bribing traitors in each state, made confusion worse confounded, and strengthened his own position. And when the unhappy Thebans were drawing nearer to you, Philip offered help to them and peace to you, and so beguiled you. He was enabled to do this by the ignorance and malice of the Hellenes generally, who refused to support you in your defence of public interests. This is how the Peace came about, and the corruption of Aeschines and his friends was the means by which he secured it. The first movers in the Peace were Aristodemus, the actor, and Philocrates, a hireling and Aeschines'
§ 22. friend, and Eubulus and Cephisophon. I had no hand in it. Yet he charges me with making the Peace, and with preventing the common
§ 23. council of the Hellenes from sharing in it. And while I was doing this great thing he never made a single protest, which proves that there is nothing in his charge. The states of Hellas had all been tried and found wanting, and no embassy had been sent to them. This is really a charge against Athens: if you were inviting the Hellenes to war at the same moment that you were negotiating peace with Philip, you acted as no state should. But it is false. You had no reason for summoning the Hellenes then.

(2) *After the Peace.*

§ 25. Now compare our conduct after the Peace was made, and you will see who was Philip's friend and ally.

The loss of the Thracian towns.

I urged in the Boulè that our envoys should administer the oaths to Philip as soon as possible: they would not do so, and that meant that Philip had time, after you had stopped all your preparations for war, to seize many places before he took the oaths. That was why I urged that our envoys should find Philip at once; so that the Thracians might retain the posts of vantage of which Aeschines spoke so lightly,
§ 28. instead of their serving as a basis for Philip's further aggressions. He never mentions this proposal of mine, but tries to make a charge out of my invitation of Philip's envoys to the Theatre, as though they would not have sat in the ordinary places but for me. Was I to save these paltry matters while Aeschines and his friends sold your substantial interests? Read the decree passed over by Aeschines.

Decree.

Such was my decree: but our good envoys, who might have gone to the Hellespont in three or four days and saved all, lingered in Macedonia three whole months, while Philip had his own way and gained both the Peace and the coveted posts. § 30.

The destruction of Phocis

This was their first offence, which has made me their enemy. The second was worse. Philip paid them not to let us leave Macedonia till the preparations for his advance to Phocis were made, so that we might save Thermopylae as we did once before. To this end he hired Aeschines to delay you. § 31.

If I digress from the indictment his malevolent charges force me to do so. § 34.

What were his arguments that ruined all? That there was no cause for alarm at Philip's advance—alliances were cemented by identity of interest, and you and Phocis were alike interested in the depression of Thebes. What followed, almost at once? The ruin of the Phocians and demolition of their cities, panic at Athens, pay for Aeschines, and for us the enmity of Thebes and Thessaly. Read the decree of Callisthenes and the letter of Philip. § 35. § 37.

Decree.

What a downfall from your earlier hopes! § 39.

Letter.

was the work of Aeschines and his party.

His point was to persuade the Thebans and Thessalians that he was their only friend: so he blinded their eyes, and now they are ruined. And Aeschines wrought and fought for this end: he weeps over the fall of Thebes, but he ruined Thebes and Phocis and all. Aeschines no doubt is in mourning, with his snug estate in Boeotia; I am exultant, I whose surrender Philip demanded at once. § 40.

The helplessness of Hellas after the destruction of Phocis.

To return. What followed on the destruction of the Phocian towns? The Thebans and Thessalians counted Philip their saviour, and would hear nothing against him; you were suspicious, but obliged to keep the Peace. The other states kept the Peace too, though Philip's operations were really so many acts of war against them. But they did not heed the warnings and protests I uttered in Athens and other cities. The statesmen were corrupt, and the citizens were lazy and apathetic. § 42. § 43.

The reward of Traitors.

And so each city has paid for its slackness by loss of freedom, and the statesmen are sold, and reviled, for their work as traitors is done:

and whenever he has done his work a traitor is always cast off. So it was with Lasthenes in Olynthus, with Timolaus in Thebes, and Eudicus and Simus in Larissa. They are miserable, and Aristratus in Sicyon, Perilaus in Megara are outcasts. So you may see that the patriot statesman is the mainstay of the traitor, for if it were not for the patriot, the traitor would have nothing to sell.

§ 50. I could say more, but this is enough to clear myself from his foul charges, and to instruct my younger hearers. Aeschines talks of Alexander's friendship, as though a paid servant could be a true friend. He was the hireling, first of Philip, and then of Alexander. Do you not agree, Athenians? you hear their answer.

§§ 53–125. *Answer to the indictment.*

§§ 53–59. *Order of reply.*

I will now turn to the words of the indictment, and first justify Ctesiphon's proposal by an account of my public acts.

Indictment.

§ 56. The question of my desert depends on an examination of my public services. The proposal of a crown 'before the official audit' is partly a question of my policy, partly of definite laws. I will first deal with my public acts, and if I touch on general Hellenic policy, my words must not be considered irrelevant.

§§ 60–105. *My public life,* (1) *abroad,* (2) *at home.*

§ 60. I say nothing of what Philip had done before I came into public life. Philip at the outset had one great advantage, that in each state he found many traitors ready for his service: and was able to achieve his end of dividing his already divided enemies. In view of this state of faction and blindness what was the true policy of Athens?

The two alternatives.

Was it to abandon its high principles and actively support Philip in his aggression? or, was it to stand idle and see its fears realized? Was it, I ask you, to aid the active traitors like the Thessalians, or the passive ones, the Arcadians, Messenians, and Argives? All of these have come off worse than we have, so that there is no doubt that you took the noblest course in adopting my policy.

The high traditions of Athens.

§ 66. What was the duty of a statesman who knew the high traditions of Athens, in face of Philip's attempt at empire over Hellas? If Philip, the man of Pella, was ready to sacrifice one part of his body after another to achieve empire, were the Athenians, with the memorials of their former greatness before their eyes, to abandon the cause of freedom? The only course was to oppose him, as you did, on my advice.

Philip's activity in Thrace,

I say nothing of his conquests of Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Halonnesus: nor his later attack on Serrium, Doriscus, Peparethus. I had nothing to do with the decrees about these aggressions. § 69.

in Euboea, and in the East.

But when it came to annexing Euboea, and setting up tyrants there, and besieging Byzantium, this was a plain breach of the Peace, which demanded intervention: unless you think these cities should have been left as a 'Mysian prey,' in which case my policy was superfluous and even criminal. § 71.

Philip, not Athens, broke the Peace.

It was really Philip, not Athens, that broke the Peace. Read the decrees and Philip's letter. § 73.

Decree.

This decree was proposed by Eubulus, others by Aristophon, Hegesippus, Philocrates, Cephisophon, none by me.

Decrees.

Name any decree which makes me responsible for the war. You cannot. § 76.

§ 77. Philip's letter.

§§ 79–102. *My activity abroad.*

(1) *Embassy to Peloponnese.* (2) *Expulsion of Philip from Euboea,* (3) *Expeditions in the East.*

Philip, you see, never names me: for to name me would be to name his own crimes, which I attacked. First, by an embassy to Peloponnese. Secondly, by an embassy and expeditions to Euboea. Thirdly, by naval expeditions which saved the Chersonese and Byzantium, and redounded to your credit and the safety of your allies § 79.

Euboea.

How much Philip and the tyrants of Oreus and Eretria would have given to keep their hold on Euboea, no one knows better than you, Aeschines, who made friends with the tyrant's envoys. For my share in that policy I had honours voted me identical with those proposed by Ctesiphon, and Aeschines never said a word against it. § 81. § 83.

Decree.

You can point to no evil results of this decree in my favour, and, throughout, my policy was approved by public honours and thanksgivings. § 85.

The Hellespont.

When Euboea was lost, Philip cast his eyes on our corn-trade and attacked Byzantium. Who was it that saved this city and secured you in § 87.

the Hellespont? It was I: and my devotion in that war won you, not only glory, but a plenty greater than that you owe to the peaceful policy of Aeschines and his friends, whose hope I pray may be disappointed.

§ 90. **Decree of the Byzantines.**

Decree of the Chersonesites.

My policy true to our traditions.

§ 93. My policy, you see, not only saved the Chersonese and Byzantium and the Hellespont, but displayed the nobility of Athens and the wickedness of Philip. Other statesmen have been crowned for their policy, I have won crowns for my city.

§ 95. The charges Aeschines made against Euboea and Byzantium were not only false but impolitic, for a city, like a man, should live up to the noblest in its past. This was the generous policy you showed at the time of the Lacedaemonian supremacy, by your expeditions to Haliartus and Corinth, although Thebes and Corinth had both treated you badly. For death ends all, but duty bids men to act with honour, and to endure

§ 98. nobly. In this spirit your ancestors aided the Lacedaemonians, when the Thebans, after Leuctra, tried to crush them, they rescued Euboea from the Thebans, when trierarchs volunteered, and I among them: and countless other services you have rendered to the freedom of Hellas. With these before my eyes how could I advise you to cherish enmity against those who needed your aid? If I had proposed a shameful policy I should have deserved death; but you would not have carried it out. If you had wished to, there was nothing to prevent it, and you had these men to support you.

§§ 102-9. *My domestic measures.*

The Reform of the Navy

§ 102. To turn to my subsequent policy. I saw your navy ineffective, and its burdens pressing unequally on rich and poor. I therefore proposed a law which forced the rich to do their duty and relieved the poor, while it secured the good service of your fleet. I was indicted and triumphantly acquitted, in spite of the attempts of the Leaders of the naval Companies to induce me to compromise the matter. And they had reason for doing so, for they now had to pay in proportion to their means. Read the decree with my indictment, and the naval lists old and new.

Decree.

Service lists.

(1) Old style. (2) New style.

and its happy results.

§ 107. The value of my law was proved by its working: there was no case

of appeal, or imprisonment, or capture, or failure to sail; all these were frequent under the old law, owing to its pressure on the poor. The same generous spirit marks my policy at home and abroad. I disregarded the favour of the rich and of Philip, and chose the cause of justice and the common interest of Hellas.

§§ 110–125. *Answer to technical charges.*

The question of law.

So far I have fully justified my policy. I now turn to the *legal question*: the proclamation and the audit. § 110.

His confused jumble of arguments on the laws I do not follow. I admit that I am liable to be called to account for my whole public life, but I deny that I am accountable for my voluntary gifts. § 111.

Distinction between private gifts and public acts.

Is the generous giver to be tried so maliciously? For it is malicious to say that I was accountable as Manager of the Theoric Fund and Commissioner of Works, when the moneys in question were my own private gifts. We have always conferred such honours without question on such benefactors, Nausicles, Diotimus, Charidemus, Neoptolemus: and rightly so, unless a man is to have no rights over what is his own. The decrees passed in honour of benefactors prove my point. § 114. § 115.

Decrees.

In each case the recipient of the crown was not held accountable for private gifts. Nor should I be. If I did wrong, when in office, you should have accused me before the Board of Audit. § 117.

The decree passed in my favour proves the malignity of Aeschines. § 118.

Decree.

The decree concerns my gifts, which you have not indicted. You admit that it is lawful to receive gifts, but not to honour the giver. Surely this is the height of malice.

§§ 120–126. *The place of proclamation.*

As to the proclamation in the Theatre, there are many precedents for this, but I will only say that the place of proclamation is chosen in the interest of those who bestow the crown, to encourage the rest. Hear the law.

Law.

You omitted the clause 'except the honour is voted by the People or the Council,' and so by garbling the laws bring a malicious charge: and yet you enumerate the qualities of the people's friend, like a man ordering a statue, as though the people's friends were known by anything but their public acts; and you revile me with charges which recoil upon yourself. Our ancestors, Athenians, built these courts for the trial § 121.

of wrongdoing, but instead of accusation for wrongdoing he deals in mere ribaldry in which he shall get as good as he gave. He avows that he is my enemy and not the enemy of Athens, yet he has passed over the proper occasions for accusing me—audit, indictment, &c., and now meets me on ground where I am secure from attack, and the city must share the responsibility.

§§ 126–160. *Aeschines' life, private and public.*

The origin and early life of Aeschines.

§ 126. His foul language about me forces me to give a bare sketch of him and his origin, that you may see what a vile fellow it is who got together the charges against me, appealing, in the manner of the stage, to earth and sun, and to culture, to which no cultivated man would appeal; and when an uncultivated one does, he only offends his audience.

§ 129. Shall I speak first of his father, fettered slave to Elpias the schoolmaster, or his mother, with her daily marriages, who brought up this noble ranter, and who was raised from her trade by the boatswain Phormio? But I dare not touch such topics.

The usher transformed.

§ 130. Later in life, but yesterday, he turns Athenian and orator, and transforms his father from Tromes into Atrometus, and his mother 'the Bogey' into Glaucothea. Yet after getting all this from the Athenians, you hire yourself to act against them. I will only deal with his more flagrant service of our enemy.

His guilt in the case of Antiphon,

§ 132. First. He procured the release of Antiphon, whom I had arrested in his attempt to set fire to our docks for Philip, and if it had not been for the vigilance of the Council of the Areopagus he would have escaped. As it was you put him to the rack and to death.

and the censure of the Areopagus.

That was why the Areopagus would not allow Aeschines to act as your advocate in the affair of Delos, but solemnly appointed Hyperides in his stead,

Depositions.

and so declared Aeschines a traitor.

His support of Python.

§ 136. Again, when Python the Byzantine came to Athens, as the envoy of Philip, to expose our 'wrongdoing,' I resisted his bragging rhetoric and exposed Philip's designs, but Aeschines supported him. Not content with this, he was found conspiring with the spy Anaxinus, and so stamped himself as a traitor in grain.

Depositions.

Countless other instances I could name, but the fact is that you have fallen into the bad habit of encouraging those who slander your wise counsellors, and so the statesman who serves Athens gets no hearing. § 138.

It was bad enough that he served Philip before war was renewed: but what of his conduct when war was openly declared? This mouther of iambics never did anything for you. § 139.

A dilemma for Aeschines.

Let him face this dilemma: he was silent either because he approved of my measures, or because he was serving our enemies. When you were to be injured, he was foremost in proposing measures. One crowning act of his can never be wiped out for all the words he has spent on it. And I appeal to all the gods who have Athens in their keeping, if my words now and in the past are false or selfish, to deprive me of all good things. § 140.

The war against Amphissa.

How Aeschines brought Philip to Elatea.

Do not think as you did in the Phocian disaster that Aeschines was too weak to achieve this: I tell you he was the sole contriver of the war against Amphissa, which brought Philip to Elatea, and so ruined us. I warned you at the time, but his packed supporters cried me down. My narrative will show his contrivance and Philip's cunning. § 142.

The barrier of Thebes and Thessaly.

Philip could not end his war with you without setting Thebes and Thessaly at enmity with Athens. In spite of your inefficient generals he was suffering from your guerilla warfare, and could neither export nor import what he wanted; you commanded the sea, and he could not reach Attica without the consent of the Thebans and Thessalians. He knew they would not aid him in a private cause, and he therefore determined to stir up an Amphictyonic war. And in order to put every one off his guard, he hired Aeschines to play his game in the Amphictyony. § 145.

Aeschines in the Council of Pylae.

Casually elected—such is your way—a deputy to Pylae, Aeschines told a specious tale of the consecration of Cirrha, and got a decree passed to make a circuit of the land. It is not true, as Aeschines states, that he did this to save you from a suit threatened by the Locrians. If it were so, he could produce evidence, which he does not, of the summons.

The Amphictyonic pretext, and the seizure of Elatea.

In the course of the circuit the Locrians made an attack on the sacred deputies, and, an occasion of war being given, Philip, through his paid § 151.

supporters in the League, got himself appointed its general at the next meeting, the members being ready to accept him rather than raise money themselves. He collected a force and marched, not to Cirrha, but to Elatea, which he seized; and if the Thebans had not then had their eyes opened and joined us, our city would have been overwhelmed. For the moment Athens was saved, under the gods, by me. This is proved by the decrees of the League.

§ 154. Decrees of Amphictyons.

The dates prove Aeschines' share in the matter.

§ 156. Philip pretended all the while that his object was a public one, and Aeschines gave him the opportunity. You will see this from Philip's letter to his allies in Peloponnese.

Letter.

The seed and the harvest.

And who afforded him this 'Amphictyonic' pretext? Aeschines. It is not one man (Philip) who has ruined us, but many villains in different states, Aeschines among them, who procured the loss of men, fortresses, and cities; for he sowed the seed of this evil harvest.

§§ 160–252. *My policy after the seizure of Elatea.*

My policy was

§ 160. And so in touching on Aeschines' acts I am led to discuss my own public services in opposing him: which I must ask you in fairness to listen to.

the union of Thebes and Athens.

§ 161. I saw the Thebans and yourselves blind to the one danger, Philip's aggrandizement, and divided by enmities, and so I tried to reconcile you, following herein the policy of Aristophon and Eubulus, whom you, Aeschines, now unconsciously condemn, by attacking my Theban policy. For with the Amphissean war on foot, and Thebes at enmity with Athens, we were at once exposed to Philip's attack, and were in danger of destruction. The situation will appear from the decrees of the time, and the answers to them.

Decrees.

Answers.

The seizure of Elatea,

§ 168. Encouraged by these, Philip advanced and occupied Elatea. The news arrived at Athens in the evening, and disturbed the Prytanes at dinner. An assembly was called for the morning, and the people were seated in the Pnyx, at an early hour. When the Prytanes had announced the news, and the herald called on any one who wished to speak, no one came forward.

and the needs of Athens.

The patriotism of the people generally, the wealth of the Three Hundred or both combined, were not enough to meet the need of that day. It demanded a man who, besides these qualities, had followed events closely, and discerned the motives of Philip; and I alone came forward to fill this part.

The one man needful.

Listen to what I said, and you will learn that I did not desert my post, and you will gain an insight into my policy as a whole.

'Do not believe,' I said, 'that Philip is sure of the Thebans: if § 174.
he were, he would be at our borders already. He has already prepared his way in Thebes, and hopes by the seizure of Elatea to encourage his allies there, and to cow or compel his opponents into submission. To § 176.
bear ill-will against Thebes is to fulfil the prayer of Philip, and open his way into Attica. You must fear for the Thebans instead of for yourselves, and make an armed demonstration at Eleusis, to encourage your friends at Thebes. Then appoint ten envoys and send them to Thebes, not to make demands but to promise help. If they then refuse your overtures, you will at least have acted with honour.' My words were approved, and I carried out my policy with entire devotion from first to last.

Call me Batalus, if you will, my Batalus proved superior to your § 180.
stage heroes, Cresphontes or Creon or the Oenomaus, whom you mauled once at Collytus.

§§ 181–188. **Decree.**

The critic after the event.

This decree was the beginning of our new relations with Thebes, § 188.
and it dispelled the danger. You should have criticized me then, not now. For it is only a malignant statesman who waits to declare his mind till the event is past.

The honest statesman would have spoken then, but if Aeschines can § 190.
point to any better policy than mine, I confess myself in the wrong. I took the best course open to us, and that is all that a statesman can do. You cannot mention any argument, any opportunity, any policy that I neglected.

The spirit of my policy is untouched by our misfortune.

The statesman is concerned not with the past, but with the future § 192.
and the present. Instead of cavilling at events (for the end is as God wills it) consider the spirit of my policy. It is not my fault if Philip was victorious; you can only accuse me if my action was not just, vigorous, and honourable; yes, and necessary. To accuse me because the storm was too strong for us, is like blaming the ship's master for

a shipwreck, when he has taken all precautions for safety. Think what would have become of us, if Thebes had joined Philip as Aeschines wished. Instead of a battle three days' march from Attica, we should have had—I cannot say what the gods' good will and my alliance saved us from.

§ 196. I address this to the judges: to Aeschines it is enough to say—if you knew what was coming, you ought to have spoken; if you did not know, you cannot blame my ignorance. In any case, while I devoted myself to the interests of Athens, you did not do the slightest service. But after the event you act like the meanest enemy of Athens. While Aristratus and Aristoleos are bringing to trial the friends of Athens in Naxos and Thasos, at Athens Aeschines is accusing Demo-

§ 198. sthenes. Surely he deserves destruction who finds his advantage in the misfortunes of his city. Your acts and inaction alike convict you, for you are only active in the day of our distress, waking to life like an old sprain vexing a disordered body.

The Paradox.

§ 199. But if you lay stress on events, I have a paradox for you. If we had known the future, even so our honour required us to act as we did. We have failed, as all men may; but in the other event we should have lost our prestige and stamped ourselves as false to our traditions, and could never have faced the world. For every one knows that in the past Thebans, Lacedaemonians, Persians, were ready to bribe Athens into submission, but we always preferred the perilous

§ 204. path of honour. You show your mind by honouring the heroes of old, just as your ancestors honoured Themistocles and stoned Cyrsilus, counting life without freedom of no value, and every man considering himself born for his country, and bound to die rather than see it enslaved.

Athens has always honoured men for actions and not for success.

§ 206. And so in my policy I only served the true traditional spirit of Athens, and Aeschines in trying to rob me of my honour is really attacking your policy and depriving you of future praises; for if you condemn Ctesiphon, men will think your policy mistaken, and not merely unfortunate. But, by those who fell at Marathon and Salamis and Artemisium, I declare that it was not mistaken: and I remind you that Athens honours men for their acts and not for their success.

The spirit of Athens is on its trial.

§ 209. This is not the place, miserable scribe, to talk of 'battles long ago.' I ask you what was the proper spirit for a statesman to adopt. One unworthy of Athens? Never. I say that you judges are bound to

try public policies in a broader spirit than private contracts; each one of you must bear in mind that he takes with him into court the spirit of Athens, if he is to act in a way worthy of his ancestors.

The Embassy at Thebes.

§ 211. But I must return to my narrative of events. Arrived in Thebes we found the Macedonian party bold, and were frightened. This is confirmed by the letter we sent home: for it is mere malignity of Aeschines to give me no credit for successful policy, but to make me responsible for the misfortune of war.

Letter.

§ 213. In the Theban assembly Philip's envoys, praising Philip and accusing you, called on the Thebans to invade Attica with him or to give him a passage. Our reply I would fain go into, but fear you would be impatient so long after the event; but I will tell you the result.

Reply of the Thebans.

§ 215. You went to the help of the Thebans, and they gave you the most friendly welcome, and trusted their wives and children to you—a trust which your conduct justified. In the two battles, of the river and the storm, you distinguished yourselves greatly, and won the praise of men. Our city held thanksgivings. Where was Aeschines then? If he shared in the rejoicings he should not accuse now; if he did not, he deserves ruin for not sharing in the joy of his city.

Decree for Sacrifices.

The confusion of Philip.

§ 218 So we, who, thanks to Aeschines, feared that we should need help, had so helped others that Philip was confounded. His letters will show you what my continuous travel and diplomacy accomplished.

§ 219. For the statesmen before me showed no such complete devotion in carrying out a policy, partly from slackness, partly in order to shirk responsibility. It seemed to me a moment for doing one's duty without regard to personal safety, and I believed no one was better qualified than I.

Letters of Philip.

To such a pass did I reduce the once confident Philip. For this a crown was proposed for me, and Aeschines did not oppose it, while Diondas, who did oppose it, was defeated, as these decrees show.

Decrees.

Aeschines then and now.

§ 223 These decrees are identical with Ctesiphon's, but Aeschines let them alone, though he had better ground to accuse then than now, for many reasons. But the events were too near, and he could not have dealt

freely with dates and decrees as he has done now; and so he has waited till now, thinking that he will impose on you with rhetoric instead of examining facts.

The arithmetic of politics.

§ 229. He calls upon you to abandon your prejudices and to accept the results of argument, as though you were auditing accounts. Mark that he thereby admits that he is already condemned by public opinion: but I accept his challenge, and I prove to you, at once my auditors and witnesses, that you have no need to change your opinion. My policy (1) won us the alliance of Thebes. (2) removed the conflict 700 stades from us, (3) saved Athens from Euboean privateers, (4) deprived Philip of his hold of the Hellespont. This is no mere question of figures, and besides this, while others felt Philip's brutality, you have enjoyed the fruits of his simulated friendliness.

The resources of Athens:

§ 232. Once more, an orator ought to be judged not by his style or his gestures, but by the facts of his policy. I will do what he refused to do, and compare the resources of Athens before and after I came into command of affairs.

(1) *before me.*

§ 234. (1) Athens had no forces but those of the Islands (excluding the strongest—Chios, Rhodes, Corcyra). (2) The allies' contribution only came to forty-five talents, paid before the time. (3) We had no foreign horse or foot. (4) Worst of all—Megara, Thebes, Euboea were unfriendly (thanks to Aeschines and his friends). Philip was an absolute and irresponsible ruler, with a standing army and plenty of money, subject to none of the delays of a democracy.

(2) *as enriched by my policy.*

§ 236. I had nothing, even my right of speech I shared with the enemies of Athens. Yet I won for you the alliance of Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, Corcyraeans, and raised large sums of money. When you talk of equality and justice as between us and them, you forget that Athens has been proud in the past to give more than her share to a common cause. If you had a better policy, then was the time to propose it. But we had to do what we could, not what we would, for Philip was there to buy the allies whom we rejected.

§ 240. Suppose these cities had gone and joined Philip, would not my accusers say that I had driven them away? 'Philip,' they would add, 'has got the Hellespont and the corn-trade, the war is in Attica, the seas are beset with privateers.' Such is the malignity of this rustic tragedian and counterfeit orator. For what good has your eloquence done us, Aeschines? You are like a doctor giving advice over the sick man's grave.

Philip's victory not my failure.

§ 244. The defeat (at Chaeronea) is not my fault. My embassies were everywhere successful, but Philip's arms repaired the defects of his envoys. You accuse me of cowardice, and yet expect me to defeat the forces of Philip. I had no control over fortune or your generals, but I accept full responsibility for the duties of an orator. (1) to watch and warn, (2) to reduce the errors of delay and ignorance to a minimum, (3) to produce unity and devotion—all these I have done. And with regard to Philip's two instruments of victory, his army and his bribes, I answer that with the former I have no concern, but over the latter I have won a victory by my incorruptibility. The defeat of Athens does not lie at my door.

The approval of Athens.

§ 248. Such are my acts which justify Ctesiphon's proposal. It is also justified by the conduct of you all. For after the battle the democracy, so far from turning against me, adopted my measures for the defence of the city, and made me Corn-commissioner. And in spite of a persistent combination to ruin me in the courts by indirect attacks, thanks to the Gods and to you I escaped, and the oath of the judges was maintained. I say your acquittal of me when I was impeached and indicted, and your approval of my official audit showed that my policy was the best, and that it was carried out justly and incorruptibly. Ctesiphon then was only accepting the conclusions of the democracy, of the judges, and of truth itself.

The boast of Cephalus.

§ 251. And as to 'Cephalus' noble boast' that he was never accused, I cannot see that a man who is indicted and acquitted can be blamed: but as regards Aeschines the boast is mine, for he never indicted me.

The taunt of fortune.

§ 252. Aeschines is at his worst when he talks of fortune. To reproach any one with fortune is foolish, for no one knows how long his own will last. Speaking as a man I say that the fortune of Athens is good, but the general fortune of men to-day is miserable. It was our good fortune to choose the noblest course and to prosper better than the traitors; our failures are only part of the general lot of man. No one but Aeschines would think of giving more weight to my fortune than to that of Athens.

Look at his fortune and mine.

§ 256. But as he attacks my fortune I will ask him to look at his own, and compare it with mine; for though I do not think much of poverty or wealth, he has challenged the comparison by his slanders.

§ 257. I received the education of a man of leisure, and went on to perform public duties and to serve my city and my friends, and when I entered politics I adopted a policy which all approved. You began in poverty, serving your father at school, and when you grew up helping your mother in her mysteries, where you won distinction at night by your yell, and in the daytime leading mystic processions and getting cakes and rolls for your reward. And when you managed to get enrolled in a deme, you chose the profession of a petty clerk; and then of a ranting actor, who got more from stolen fruit than from the plays you acted at such peril.

His character and mine.

§ 263. But to turn from your condition to your character. The policy you chose was one that led you to cower when Athens prospered and to exult in her misfortunes. I might say much more, but cannot for very shame. Compare our lives at each stage, Aeschines, and then ask each of our judges which fortune he would prefer. And to-day men admit my innocence, and only my crowning is in question, while you are pronounced a malicious person, and the only question is whether your iniquity is to be stopped for ever. A fine fortune yours, that you should accuse me!

§ 267. I will read you evidence of the public services I performed. You may read against these the lives you ruined, as I pray the Gods may ruin you.

Depositions.

§ 268. Such was my private life: of my private acts I say nothing—ransom of prisoners, portioning of daughters and the like—for it is the benefactor's duty to forget what he has done. I am content with men's opinion of me.

Blame not my fortune, but the common fortune.

§ 270. One more word on *public affairs*. I give you leave, Aeschines, to blame my fortune for everything, if you can point to any one who has not suffered from Philip and Alexander: but if every one, man and city, has suffered grievously, you must blame the fortune of men and the drift of events. Yet you make me personally responsible, though you know that as a citizen and an orator you shared in what I got done. Most men distinguish between crime, and error and misfortune, and give punishment, pardon and sympathy accordingly, and this rests on the unwritten laws of nature, but Aeschines is so brutal and malicious that he accuses me for what he admits to be misfortunes.

The true orator and the false.

§ 276. Thus he warned you against me as a cunning and sophistical speaker, as though you would not see that this description is much more true of him. But eloquence really depends on the will of one's audience,

If I do possess any such gift, it has always been exercised for you, as he has always used his against you, and against his personal enemies, which no honest citizen should do. The orator ought to show his vigour when the state is in danger, and against its enemies. Aeschines has never accused me of wrongdoing, yet now he trumps up a charge against me for the matter of a crown. And he makes his mean and malicious act worse by attacking Ctesiphon instead of me. The fact is, you wanted to make a showy speech, not to punish a crime; but you forget that an orator is valued not for his voice but for sharing the sentiments and the policy of the people. This I have always done without reserve. And you? you went as § 282. envoy to Philip just after the battle, belying your former words, like the false orator you are. Do you think they do not remember how you once swore that you had nothing to do with Philip? Yet directly after the battle you claimed his friendship, as though Glaucothea's son could be a friend of Philip. No! you were *hired* to ruin our interests; and yet, exposed as the traitor you are, you dare to reproach me, when every one is responsible rather than I.

The city showed its sense of my services;

The city showed its sense of my services by choosing me to speak § 285. over the dead, rather than you, or Demades or Hegemon, and your protest only confirmed the election. For they knew my good will and your wickedness; for you were among those who spoke out their evil mind now in the days of our misfortune. Moreover, they did not wish to have any one who had lived with the enemies of the dead; they wanted a sympathy of heart and not of words.

and so did the relations of the dead.

And the relations of the dead were of the same mind, for they made § 288. the funeral feast at my house, and indeed no one was nearer to them all than I.

Read the Inscription over the dead— § 289.

Inscription.

and you will find that it attributes success to the Gods, who I pray may turn your wickedness against you.

The patriot shares the joys and sorrows of the people.

But the most amazing thing is, that Aeschines in accusing me does § 291 not lament our misfortunes as a patriot should, but only makes capital out of them for his rhetoric. Yet one who professes to care for laws and constitution ought to share the joys and sorrows of the people. You prove your enmity to Athens by making me responsible for all our troubles; but I was not the first to introduce a policy of defending

Hellenic interests. To admit that would be to confer the greatest honour upon me. By disparaging our honourable policy you prove yourself a wrongdoer.

Our disasters were due to traitors in each city.

§ 294. Who then may be really held responsible for our disasters? Those who in every city like Aeschines sacrificed the public interests to personal greed and reduced their fellow-citizens to slavery—in Thessaly, Arcadia, Argos, Elis, Messenia, Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, Thebes, Euboea, men whose names are too numerous to mention, who have all sacrificed their country and their freedom to Philip and Alexander, have reversed the old traditions and have found their happiness in dishonour.

The true fortification.

§ 297. It was my policy which saved Athens from sharing in this guilt and dishonour, a policy which I upheld with unswerving honesty, unmoved by hope and fear or any other thing, and it is for this upright conduct of your affairs that I deserve your honours. The material defences I erected, walls and trenches, are creditable in their way, but my chief glory is to have fortified the city with armies, alliances, and harbours, ships and horses and men. The victory was not a victory of Philip's calculations over mine, but of fortune over the generals of our allies. The proofs are clear.

§ 301. What was the right course for the patriotic statesman?

The patriotic policy was mine.

To secure as defences Euboea and Boeotia on the north, and our neighbours on the south: to make the corn-trade safe, and maintain and extend our alliances in the East: to cut off our enemies' resources and enlarge our own. All these I have done with honesty; if we have failed from bad fortune, or bad generals, or treachery, or all together, the fault is not mine. If there had been a man like me in every state, nay even in Thessaly and Arcadia, all would now be well, and every state would be thanking us for its deliverance. The decrees show that I do not exaggerate.

Decrees.

How different from his.

§ 306. That is the policy of a good citizen, one which brings either a high position, or, at the worst, an honourable name: it is not his to become the hireling of our enemies, to foster their interests and to slander the advocate of a nobler policy, and to hold his peace for our ruin.

§ 308. For Aeschines holds aloof from politics till you are in some difficulty and then comes suddenly forward with a stream of fluent phrases to ruin some one citizen, and discredit the city. If your occupation were

honest, it would have its proper fruit in alliances, revenues and the like, but though many occasions have offered, you have done nothing for Athens.

Athens' necessity was Aeschines' opportunity.

§ 311. You have given us no alliance, no new resources, and done no service at home or abroad, brought no relief to rich or poor. 'But he has shown good will.' Never! When every one came forward with a gift, you gave nothing, though you were enriched with the bequest of your kinsman and with the bribes of the leaders of the companies. The only occasions on which you display any vigour are when the Athenians are to be injured. Then you show all the resources of your tragic art.

The praise of men of old.

§ 314. It is well to praise the good men of old, but it is not fair to compare them with the living; for the living are always envied. Great as were the services of past benefactors, they ought not to make you ungrateful for present benefits, and I venture to say that my policy to-day is identical with theirs, while yours is the policy of those who disparaged them. You say I am not like those of old; but are you or your brother? Compare the living with the living, as you would do in the case of poets and players, and athletes. I am ready to face that test.

§ 320 The field was open to all; I gave the best counsel and my decrees and laws and embassies conducted your affairs. You did nothing then but insult the Athenians. But in the day of calamity when, instead of counsellors, abject and subservient men were wanted to flatter our enemies and injure Athens, you came out with the most brilliant and showy powers, and my day was over.

I showed the qualities of a good Athenian.

§ 321. There are two qualities a good Athenian—to use a modest phrase—should have. In the day of power his policy should be lofty and noble, and at all times it should be loyal. These requirements I have always fulfilled. The demands of Philip, the suits of the Amphictyony, promises and threats, have never shaken my loyalty; for from first to last I have chosen the straightforward policy of promoting the honour and glory of Athens. I am not one of those who exult at the news of our disasters and go mourning at our good fortune; like the accursed men who discredit their city and rejoice in the good fortune of a foreigner, and work for its continuance.

May the gods convert our enemies or destroy them!

§ 324. But I pray that the gods may never grant their wish; but rather put a new mind in them, or if their case is hopeless, destroy them utterly by land or sea and deliver us from the terrors that beset us.

NOTES

SPEECH ON THE CROWN.

In references to other speeches of Demosthenes, the political speeches are generally quoted by name, the purely private speeches by number, e. g. in Note on § 3, *Dem.* 45. 67 *means* § 67 *of the first speech against Stephanus.*

§ 1. THE two first sections are an answer to Aeschines, who (in Ctes. § 202 foll.) had called upon the judges (1) not to listen to Demosthenes, or, if they did, (2) to confine him to the same order of speech as Aeschines had observed, dealing first with the charge of illegality, and then with the more general question of desert.

τοῖς θεοῖς, κ.τ.λ. For the appeal to the gods cf. § 141 and Servius on Aen. xi. 301 ("praefatus divos": maiores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant, sicut sunt omnes orationes Catonis et Gracchi,' but it was less common in Greek than in Latin: see Dissen's note).

ὅσην . . . τοσαύτην. This arrangement of clauses is characteristic of the periodic style, and is common in Demosthenes.

ὑπάρξαι: as always, of something which is secure, and can be counted upon. See Index.

εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης. These words amplify the *ὑμῶν*, 'your conscience and your reputation.'

παραστῆσαι. As frequently in Demosthenes, of putting a thought into some one's mind, or forcing something on his attention. See Index.

τοὺς θεούς is not needed after **τοῖς θεοῖς**, but it adds to the dignity of the appeal.

§ 2. **τὸν ὅρκον**. The oath will be found in the speech against Timocrates, § 151, and in it the words *καὶ ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγόρου καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν*.

τὴν εὔνοιαν, κ.τ.λ. The point is emphasized by making **ἴσην** predicate. Almost the same words are used by Aeschines, De Fals. Leg. § 7 *μηδὲν προκατεγνωκότας, ὡς ἀδικῶ, ἀλλ' ἴσῃ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἀκούοντας*.

ἀποδοῦναι, like the Latin *reddere*, is used of giving something that is due; cf. Ol. 1. 19 *εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀποδώσετε*.

τῇ τάξει, the more special word is put first partly because it is the

point he is chiefly anxious to secure, partly perhaps because of the stress laid on it by Aeschines, § 205 : 'the arrangement of the speech and the general lines of the defence.'

ὡς βεβούληται, κ.τ.λ. The double phrase, as often in Demosthenes, strengthens the expression. See Index : 'Double phrases.' 'To allow every one who is pleading his cause to follow his own free will and deliberate choice.'

ἕκαστος shows that he is not speaking of the two parties to an action (which would be *ἑκάτερος*), but of any one conducting an action.

καὶ μεγάλα, 'really serious.' For the idiomatic uses of *καί* in this speech see Index. § 3.

οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων : this is hardly fair, for Aeschines' political credit was at stake no less than Demosthenes'.

ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν—an aposiopesis ; cf. infra, § 195.

δυσχερές here is generally translated 'ominous,' the clause being regarded as an explanation of the aposiopesis—'for me (the loss would be fatal), whereas Aeschines in accusing me does not stand to lose all.' But it is perhaps better to take it in the usual sense of 'offensive.' Demosthenes apologizes for beginning with a comparison between himself and Aeschines.

ἐκ περιουσίας elsewhere means 'gratuitously, wantonly,' e. g. *οἱ ἐκ περιουσίας πονηροί*, Dem. 45. 67. Some editors take it so here, but it has rather the force of *ἀπὸ περιουσίας* in Thuc. 5. 103 *τοὺς ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ*, 'with plenty to fall back upon,' i. e. the accusation does not exhaust his resources.

λοιδοριῶν καὶ κατηγοριῶν here coupled, are sometimes contrasted ; cf. infra, § 123.

ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν is nearly always used, as here, to qualify a universal affirmative or negative. § 4.

ἀπολύσασθαι, 'to clear myself of' ; cf. § 50.

καὶ πεποίηκα, κ.τ.λ., 'my past acts and my past policy.'

οὗτος. Aeschines, as generally in this speech. **ὁ . . ἐνστησάμενος** gives the reason : 'for it was he who set on foot a trial of this sort.'

It is essential to Demosthenes' case to maintain that the trial, though formally the defendant is Ctesiphon, is really a trial of the public acts and career of Demosthenes himself : for only so is he enabled to appeal from the purely technical arguments where he was weak to the wider issues of Athenian politics. § 5.

πάντων. The context shows that this means 'anything,' not 'everything' : that is, it is distributive, not collective.

φιλανθρωπίας, 'friendly feeling' ; cf. Lept. 109 ; Aristocr. 156.

δικαίως goes rather with *ἀκοῦσαι* than with *ἀπολογούμενον*. § 6.

δημοτικός. Cf. infra, § 122, 'democratic, 'a friend of the people' ;

cf. Plutarch, Solon, ch. 16 *δημοτικὸς ὢν καὶ μέσος*. Aristoph. Nub. 1187 *ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν*. Aeschines in Ctes. § 257 had already appealed to Solon *τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν*.

§ 7. **τὰς αἰτίας** here 'charges' 'imputations.' See Index.

τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, 'his piety (honour) to the gods'; cf. supra, § 1.

πρότερος λέγειν . . . ὕστερον. Note the change from adjective to adverb. But *ὑστέρου* is read by the first hand of S.

κοινόν, 'impartial'; cf. Dem. 29. 1 *ἅπερ ἴσοι καὶ κοινοὶ γένησθ' ἀκροαταί*. See Index.

οὕτω sums up the conditions expressed in the preceding participles. Cf. infra, § 27 *ἵν' ἐχόντων . . . οὕτω γίγνοιντ' οἱ ὅρκοι*.

τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται. This use of *ποιεῖσθαι* with the verbal noun gives weight and dignity to the sentence. It is very frequent in Thucydides. (See Rutherford, Thuc. iv. Introd. p. xxi.) The sentence from *περὶ τούτων δ' ὅντος* to *περὶ ἁπάντων*, §§ 6, 7, is a very good example of one type of Demosthenic period, which in its free use of participles reminds one of Thucydides. The period, it will be seen, is held together by means of participles, and relative and conditional clauses, after the long-drawn suspense of which *οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται* comes in with proper weight as the concluding predicate. But the real predicate is contained in the participles.

§ 8. **ὡς ἔοικε**, 'as it seems': used with a touch of sarcasm, suggesting that he has been forced by Aeschines into doing what is unnecessary. Cf. Soph. Ant. 740 *ὅδ', ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ γυναικὶ συμμαχεῖ*.

παραστῆσαι, 'to put this in your mind'; cf. supra, § 1. This is far more forcible than Bekker's correction *παραστῆναι*.

§ 9. **περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε**, 'the points mentioned in the indictment.'

προβούλευμα: always of a measure prepared by the Boulè to go before the Ecclesia, here used of the proposal of Ctesiphon. 'I should at once have proceeded to make my defence on the actual bill prepared by the Boulè.'

ἀνήλωκε. Cf. §§ 140, 279.

κατεψεύσατο. *κατά* implies 'to my disadvantage,' 'at my expense.'

ἀλλοτριώτερον, 'with a mind estranged': **τῶν . . . δικαίων** is genitive after **ἀκούῃ** and not after the comparative. 'Listen with a mind estranged to the just pleas I may urge touching the indictment.' *ἀκούειν* with a double genitive, of person and thing, is rare. Cf. Hom. Od. 12. 271 *κέκλυτέ μευ μύθων*.

§ 10. **βελτίω . . . καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων**. Cf. adv. Androt. § 68 *δούλους καὶ ἐκ δούλων καλῶν ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων*.

τῶν μετρίων here and in 126 means 'decent, respectable people.'

Blass quotes Hyper. Eudem. col. 26. 24 *παρὰ τούτοις τε μέτριον καὶ ἐπιεικῆ δοκοῦντα εἶναι.*

ἐπαχθές, 'invidious' or 'out of taste.' Cf. § 127.

ὑπειλήφατε, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'the opinion you have formed and hold'; for the use of the perfect of formed opinion cf. § 123.

παρά, with accusative, very frequent in Demosthenes of time either (1) of momentary coincidence, cf. § 15 *τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους*, or (2) of parallel duration, as here. See Index.

κακοήθης, *κ.τ.λ.* This harsh assonance seems to have offended Greek ears less than it does ours: cf. Thuc. 6. 76 *οὐκ ἀξυνετωτέρου κακοξυνετωτέρου δέ.* Here perhaps it is meant to attract attention. § 11.

εὔηθες, 'simple-minded.' The word like the English 'simple') varies according to its context from 'simplicity' to 'silliness.'

οὐ δή, 'that I will never do!' A strong and direct denial, cf. 269.

τετύφωμαι, of infatuation. Cf. Phil. 3. 20. Harpocrat. quotes Alcaeus *πάμπαν δὲ τύφως ἔκ σ' ἔλετο φρένας.*

πομπείας, 'ribaldry': the sort of language which would be used in a Dionysiac procession (*πομπή*) by the revellers. Cf. *ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης*, infra, § 122.

ἀνέδην. The metaphor is the same as in our phrase 'loose language.'

ἂν βουλομένοις, *κ.τ.λ.* For this construction see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, 900. Cf. Thuc. 2. 3 *τῷ πλήθει . . . οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν.* Imitated by Latin writers: Tac. Agric. 18 'quibus bellum volentibus erat.'

αὕτη. The MSS. vary between this and *αὐτή*: 'the spirit of the present action' 'being such as it is' (*αὕτη*), or 'in itself' (*αὐτή*).' The best sense is got by inserting a colon after *αὕτη*, making it the predicate; the clause *ἐχθροῦ μέν* then explains it. § 12.

ἐχθροῦ μέν. *μέν* is answered by *μέντοι* as often.

For **προαίρεσις** cf. infra, § 280 *τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα.* The primary meaning of the word is 'deliberate choice' (cf. Aristot. Ethics, 3. 2). Hence it is used for 'purpose,' 'intention,' and for any 'line of action' deliberately adopted. It is used in this speech with several shades of meaning: § 93 *ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία*, 'my principles and my policy'; cf. § 192, and in the plural, § 210 *τὰς δὲ κοινὰ προαιρέσεις*, 'lines of public policy.' In § 59 *πολλῶν προαιρέσεων τῆς πολιτείας*, is translated by Liddell and Scott 'departments of government,' which implies something too formal and definite. It is rather 'departments of public life, or of statesmanship.' For an interesting analysis of the word and its later uses see Mr. J. L. Strachan-Davidson's *Selections from Polybius*, p. 8.

ἐπήρεια, the 'malice' or 'rancour' of a personal enemy. The enumeration proceeds from the inward spirit to the outward expression of it, finding its climax in **προπηλακισμός**, 'foul abuse'

οὐκ ἔνι. ἔνι is the reading of an inferior MS., while the best, S and L, have ἔχει, but this, though commended by Spengel and Weil, in the sense 'the trial does not allow the city, &c.' is very harsh. For (1) this use of ἔχειν = παρέχειν is rare except with verbal nouns, and (2) the subject ὁ ἀγών has to be supplied from τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις. It is better therefore to read ἔνι or ἔστι, perhaps the more so as ἔχει, being used so few lines before, may have slipped into the text here from a false notion of symmetry.

§ 13. οὐ γάρ, κ.τ.λ. γάρ connects this sentence not with the clause immediately preceding, but with the main idea of the preceding sentence, viz. that the prosecution is a malicious one. It is malicious because no one ought to be robbed of a fair hearing. The point is not made very clearly; but Demosthenes' argument seems to be that by accusing Ctesiphon on purely formal and technical grounds a long time after the event, in order to attack Demosthenes himself, he is depriving the latter of the opportunity of defending himself and his policy on their merits, and so is robbing him of the privilege of free speech which is essential to a free constitution (πολιτεία).

οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει, κ.τ.λ., 'for you ought not to deprive a man of access to the people and of a fair hearing, still less to do so in a spirit of rancour and envy.'

τάξις is common in Demosthenes for the 'line of policy' adopted by a man. Cf. § 63 ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν . . . τάξει, and § 62 ὁ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας. See Index.

οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεούς, κ.τ.λ., with this punctuation (a colon after ποιεῖν) the subject 'such conduct' has to be supplied. Some editors prefer to omit δεῖ, following S, and to make the sentence run on without a break from οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; but in this case the position of the first οὐ seems harsh.

πολιτικόν. This adjective, like *civilis* in Latin, has many shades of meaning. (1) In πολιτικὴ δύναμις it means 'composed of citizens.' (2) Of conduct worthy of the citizen of a free state, and so probably here. It is difficult to get an exact equivalent in English, but 'neighbourly' or 'gentlemanly' comes near expressing it. (3) In 311 πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια it means 'patriotic or public-spirited.' In the present passage it is sometimes translated 'constitutional,' but it is doubtful whether it can bear that meaning.

ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς . . . χρῆσθαι. ἐδει or δίκαιον ἦν has to be supplied here from the preceding sentence.

ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῆει. Demosthenes is much given to such double phrases. See Index. 'If my crimes were so monstrous as he just now described them in his high tragic style.' For ἐτραγῴδει compare Plato's use of τραγικός for 'high-flown.' Plat. Meno 76 E τραγικὴ . . . ἡ ἀπό-

κρισις. This is the first allusion in the speech to Aeschines' professional experience as an actor, to which Demosthenes constantly returns.

παρ' αὐτά, κ.τ.λ. For *παρά* see supra, § 10 note. 'At the moment the crimes were committed.'

εἰσαγγελίας. Where a crime was not provided for under the ordinary law, it was dealt with by a special process of accusation before the Ecclesia or the Boulè, instead of by an action in the courts, and the technical word for this is *εἰσαγγελία* (= 'information'). (See Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, p. 503.) 'Impeachment' is the nearest equivalent in English.

παρανόμων γραφόμενον, 'if he saw me proposing illegal measures, he should have indicted me for illegal procedure': a good instance of the distinction between *γράφειν* and *γράφεσθαι*. For the Graphè Paranomón see Grote, *History of Greece*, Part II, ch. xlvi.; Gardner and Jevons, p. 501. Grote points out that there were two safeguards against hasty legislation at Athens, (1) this indictment for illegal procedure: the proposer of a bill violating the existing constitution was liable for a year to trial for illegal procedure, and even after his personal liability was at an end the act was liable to be indicted. (2) The institution of Nomothetae, a 'legislative committee' before which new proposals of law had to be argued as in a court of justice, with proper formalities. This latter safeguard we gather from Demosthenes' speeches had been weakened, as we find him lamenting that nowadays *ψηφίσματα*, the decrees of a chance Ecclesia, are allowed to override *νόμοι*, laws passed with all the proper constitutional forms. Cf. in Lept. 92 *ψηφισμάτων δ' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν διαφέρουσιν οἱ νόμοι.*

οὐ γὰρ δήπου. Such negative sentences (cf. § 179) bring out very clearly the force of *μὲν . . δέ*. The *οὐ* does not negative either the *μέν* clause or the *δέ* clause separately, but the combination of the two. In English we cannot express the idea in a coordinate form, but have to make one of the two clauses subordinate to the other. 'For surely, if he can prosecute Ctesiphon on my account (i. e. in order to attack me) he would not have abstained from indicting me in person, if he had thought he could get a conviction.'

καὶ μήν: used to introduce a new argument, as in a play it is often used to introduce a new person. § 14.

ὁπηνίκα, 'at the moment when,' 'as soon as ever,' and so here practically equivalent to a condition 'supposing that.' The impfl. *ἐφαίνετο* indicates that there was a series of opportunities which ought to have been used.

νῦν δ', 'but, as it is, he has not done so.' § 15.

τοσούτοις χρόνοις. Dative of difference; 'by such a long interval'; for the plural cf. in Aristocr. 94 *εἰ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄκυρον τοῖς χρόνοις.*

συμφορήσας, 'piling together a mass of accusations, and abuse and ribaldry.'

ὑποκρίνεται: cf. **ἐτραγῴδει**, § 13. 'He walks the stage with them.'

κατηγορεῖ . . κρίνει. He is really accusing me, though he brings Ctesiphon to trial.

προΐσταται. 'Puts his enmity to me in the forefront of the whole action, but instead of having met me at any point on this ground, he attempts without disguise to deprive another man of his civil rights.'

ἀπηντηκώς: cf. in Mid. § 151 **ἐπὶ ταῦτα δ' ἀπήντων ὡς ἥλωκεν ἤδη.**

ἐπιτιμία, 'the enjoyment of civil rights'; cf. § 312.

ἑτέρου, as below, § 16, of a third party, an outsider, as opposed to those who are really concerned. The word is often used by Demosthenes with a veiled allusion to some definite person, e. g. Philip.

§ 16. **καίτοι** is a hard word to translate. It is often used, as here and in § 180, to introduce an indignant statement or appeal, and is often better rendered not by the conventional 'and yet,' but by some word of asseveration or exclamation. So here 'I tell you, Athenians, besides all the other pleas one might urge on behalf of C., this I think may very fairly be said.'

δίκαιον ἦν, the impft. ind. is used without **ἄν** (as the impft. ind. is used in Latin) in the case of words expressing duty or possibility, where the force of the word itself suffices to imply an unfulfilled condition; see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 415.

τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι. See note on **τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται**, § 7. **ἐξετάζειν** and its verbals are very frequently used in Demosthenes for examining a case, or reviewing a series of facts, or ascertaining a person's exact position; cf. § 226 **τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν.** See Index.

ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ, attracted, for **ἕτερον ὅτῳ**. Cf. Soph. O. T. 449 **τοῦτον ὃν πάλαι ζητεῖς . . . οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνθάδε.**

§ 17. **ἐπ' ἀληθείας**, 'with any basis of truth.' Cf. § 226.

καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον is treated as one word; hence genitive **αὐτῶν**. Some MSS. omit **ἕν**. We have replaced **αὐτῶν**, omitted by Bekker.

ὑπέρ here quite neutral in sense, 'touching the peace.'

τῆς πρεσβείας. This refers to the first of the three embassies discussed in the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines 'On the Embassy.'

ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί, 'making me responsible for.' These compounds with **ἀνά**, *ἀνατίθημι*, *ἀναφέρω*, *ἀναδέχομαι* (cf. *re* in *reddo*, *refero*, &c.) imply the fixing or taking of responsibility on a definite person.

Philocrates was mainly responsible for the peace of 346, sometimes called 'the peace of Philocrates.' See § 21, note.

πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρόν. 'In the light of the circumstances of the time.' See Index, *ὑπάρχειν*.

§ 18. **τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ, κ.τ.λ.** The Phocian war began 355 B.C., if we reckon from the occupation of the Temple of Delphi. Demosthenes' first public speech, that 'On the Companies,' was delivered in 354.

συστάντος. This word is used once in Homer, and also in Herodotus and Thucydides of a conflict being entered upon, or engaged (Latin *committere*).

Θηβαίοις. The hatred of Athens for Thebes, based partly on its 'Medizing,' partly on its attempt to play the same part in Boeotia as Athens had played in Attica, but perhaps chiefly on a natural incompatibility between the two, is one of the commonplaces of Demosthenes. Cf. especially Lept. 109 *μεῖζον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπ' ἀμύτητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι*: and he claims special gratitude for having, just before Chaeronea, overcome this long-standing enmity and achieved an alliance between the two cities; cf. § 188.

For the general question of Athenian judgement on Thebes and the Boeotians see *The Ancient Boeotians*, by W. Rhys Roberts, and for another view see Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, pp. 28 foll.

The battle of Leuctra in 371 placed the Thebans in a position of supremacy in Greece which they held till the death of Epaminondas in 362. During this period they destroyed Plataea and Orchomenus.

ἐφησθῆναι. *ἐπί* here has the force of gloating 'over.'

οὐ μετρίως is a 'meiosis': 'for they had shockingly abused their success at Leuctra.'

διειστήκει. The divisions of Peloponnese were one of the great sources of the weakness of Greece before an aggressor from without. For a short time after Leuctra Thebes exercised a dominant influence, but the death of Epaminondas at Mantinea in 362 left confusion worse confounded; cf. Xen. Hell. 7. 5. 26 (closing words) *ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι*, whose words seem to be echoed in these of Demosthenes.

οἱ πρότερον, κ.τ.λ. That is, the harmosts established by the Spartans after the Peloponnesian war, and suppressed after Leuctra.

ἄκριτος . . . ταραχή. Cf. Xen. Hell. quoted above.

τοῖς παρ' ἑκάστοις προδόταις, 'the traitors in each state.' Cf. § 19 § 158 *ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις.*

συνέκρουε, impft. of attempt; 'tried to set all at conflict and confusion with one another.' *συγκρούειν* is frequently used of setting people or cities at odds with one another. Cf. § 163 inf.

ἐν οἷς, κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 24 *ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται*, better taken of 'means' than of 'time'; 'by means of the blunders and disloyalty of others

he was paving his way and gaining strength to the disadvantage of all.' Cf. 258 *ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι.*

κακῶς ἐφρόνουν. Dissen renders by 'dissidebant,' 'the divisions of others.' It is not always easy to say whether *κακῶς φρονεῖν* refers to mental or moral weakness, 'folly' or 'disloyalty.'

τότε μὲν βαρεῖς, κ.τ.λ. 'The Thebans who were then overbearing, as they are now unfortunate.' In 335 Thebes had been taken and destroyed by Alexander after an attempted revolt. For *βαρύς* of persons cf. Soph. Aj. 1017 *ἀνὴρ δύσοργος ἐν γηρᾳ βαρύς*, O. T. 673 *βαρὺς δ' ὅταν θυμοῦ περάσῃς.*

§ 20. **συνελάμβανον,** 'assisted,' a frequent use of the word, both in poetry and prose.

ἐπράχθη, 'was negotiated.' Cf. *πρᾶξιν*, § 22. **ἐν αὐτῇ.** 'in negotiating it.'

πραγμάτων, 'our present troubles.' Cf. *πράγματα παρέχειν*, and see Index, *πρᾶγμα.*

§ 21. **ἀκριβολογοῦμαι,** 'I am entering into such exact detail.'

τὰ μάλιστα, 'ever so much'; cf. 95.

Aristodemus the actor, cf. De Fals. Leg. 12, 94, 315. Actors, travelling freely among different states, often served as informal diplomatists: cf. De Pace 6 *κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ' ἀδείας, κακὰ δ' ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν.*

ὁ ἐκδεξάμενος, 'the man who took it up next, proposed a decree and hired himself along with Aeschines for this purpose was Philocrates.' For *ἐκδέχομαι* cf. F. L. 37 *ἐκεῖνος ἐκδέξεται τὴν αἰτίαν.*

Philocrates of Hagnus, famous for his share in the negotiations which ended in the peace of 346, for which he was accused in 343 by Hyperides and went into exile. It may be noticed that Aesch. Timarch. 174 speaks of the peace as the work of himself and Philocrates, in F. L. 56 as the work of Demosthenes and Philocrates.

οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῇς: cf. 87.

ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα (ἐὰ γὰρ τοῦτό γε), a common form of expression in the orators: cf. 261.

Eubulus succeeded Aristophanes in the conduct of affairs in 354, and controlled Athenian finance till about 338. For a defence of his policy see Holm, *Greek History*, vol. iii. p. 222 f.

Cephisophon, probably the Paeanian, mentioned in F. L. 293 and by Aesch. F. L. 73, as a friend of Chares; cf. infra, 75.

ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ, 'I had no hand in it at any point.' This is rather strong language for one who served on two embassies connected with the Peace, but it is so far true that Demosthenes strongly opposed the exclusion of the Phocians, which was the essential point in the Peace as arranged.

εἰς τοῦθ' . . ἀναιδείας. Cf. Mid. 194 *εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο θράσους καὶ ἀναιδείας τότ' ἀφίκετο.* § 22.

ὡς ἄρα. *ἄρα* implies surprise 'that I, if you please.'

μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Cf. Aesch. in Ctes. 58 *ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐξεγένετ' ἂν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν προτέραν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων.* But in F. L. 79 Aesch. says that he advocated peace because none of the Greek states would support Athens. It is impossible to reconcile these statements (A. Schaefer, ii. p. 200). In both orators there appears to be a confusion between the events just after the fall of Olynthus (348) and those preceding the 'peace of Philocrates' (346).

εἶτ' ὦ. *εἶτα* is often used in indignant questions, pointing a contrast with what has preceded, 'and yet, . . . can you mention any occasion when?' The longer phrase **ἔστιν ὅπου** is used to emphasize the question; cf. infra, 85.

πρᾶξιν, 'negotiation'; cf. § 20 **ἐπράχθη.**

καὶ μήν. Cf. 14. § 23.

ἐπεπράκειν. 'If I had allowed Philip to bribe me to prevent,' &c.

οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία. But in F. L. 16 Demosthenes mentions Aeschines' speech *ἐφεστηκότων ἔτι τῶν πρίσβεων καὶ ἀκουόντων οὓς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεπεμψάσθε.* This is denied by Aesch. F. L. 58. There is no evidence for an embassy just before the peace. (See above, § 22, note.)

ἐξελεγμένοι, 'tried and found wanting.'

ὑγιές, like *νοσεῖν,* is frequently used metaphorically of political or moral health; here 'sound and true.'

παρεκαλεῖτε . . ἐπέμπετε. The two actions are regarded as continuous, hence the impft. § 24.

Εὐρυβάτου. The name of a typical villain, used also by Aesch. in Ctes. 137 and by Plato, Protag. 327 D (coupled with Phrynondas). According to Suidas (quoting Ephorus) he was sent on a mission by Croesus to Cyrus and went over to the Persian.

πρᾶγμα, 'job' or 'intrigue' (from *πράττειν* in the sense of 'intrigue') is scornfully opposed to **ἔργον,** the work of a free state.

τί γὰρ καί: what *possible* reason. Cf. Thuc. 6. 38 *τί καὶ βούλεσθε, ὦ νεώτεροι;*

ἀλλ' . . ἀλλ': notice the double use (1) to introduce an answer, (2) to introduce a new question.

τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης, 'the peace in its original form.'

προείλετο, 'the line of policy adopted by each of us.' § 25.

βουλεύων, 'as a member of the Council.'

ἀπολαμβάνειν, 'administer the oaths': the correlative of *ἀποδοῦναι* § 26.

οὐδὲ γράψαντος. The envoys ought to have gone as a matter of

duty; they did not even go when Demosthenes had carried his proposal.

§ 26 τί δὲ τοῦτ', κ.τ.λ., 'what was the meaning of this?'

τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον τῶν ὅρκων, 'the interval before the oaths were taken.' In such phrases the Greeks did not think it necessary to mention both limits of time; cf. *μεταίχμιον σκότου*.

ἐξελύσατε, 'broke off.' The word is not common in this sense, but it has the authority of nearly all the MSS., and the active is to be preferred to ἐξελύσασθε, the reading of one MS.

ἐκ παντός. κ.τ.λ. For ἐκ of time cf. Phil. I. 1 *εἰ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν*.

ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι. 'All the places he seized before the city could secure them' (or before Athens moved).

§ 27. προορώμενος. Rehdantz and Blass point out that the middle is generally used of 'providing for, or against, a thing,' the active of 'foreseeing,' but in 45 infra, *προορᾶσθαι* is used in the latter sense.

ἵν' ἐχόντων, κ.τ.λ., here, as often, the main predicate is expressed in the participle, 'that when the oaths were taken the Thracians might be in possession of those posts.' οὕτω sums up the meaning of the participial clause; cf. § 7.

διέσυρε: there is no doubt of the meaning, 'disparage,' but the exact metaphor is not certain. It is often rendered 'pull to pieces,' but ἐπισύρειν means 'to slur over,' and it may be doubted whether the same notion is not to be found in *διασύρω*.

τὸ Σέρριον. These were places in Thrace, all it would seem on the sea coast.

τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων, 'the posts of vantage.' 'commanding positions.'

χρημάτων is an allusion to the resources drawn by Philip from the gold mines of Philippi.

εὐπορήσας, with genitive, 'rich in, well supplied with'; cf. 235.

§ 28. ἀναγιγνώσκει. It would be read out by the clerk, but Demosthenes for the moment regards Aeschines as the reader.

εἰ δέ, κ.τ.λ. εἰ here is equivalent to a milder ὅτι; Demosthenes does not throw any doubt on the fact.

προσάγειν, sc. *πρὸς τὸν δῆμον*, 'introduce to the people'; cf. 213.

θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι, κ.τ.λ., 'or ought I to have ordered the manager not to assign them seats?' ἀρχιτέκτων has generally been understood to be the lessee of the theatre. See Haigh's *Attic Theatre*, p. 304: but Rehdantz and Blass quote C. I. A. ii. 335 *εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι . . καὶ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν ἀεὶ καθιστάμενον κατανέμειν αὐτοῖς τὴν θέαν*, which seems to imply that he was an official appointed by the state.

ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'why, they would have had to sit in the two-obol seats, if this decree had not been proposed.' It seems better to take it so, as a remark of the orator, than as a supposed objection, 'but they would have sat in the cheap seats' (and the city would have been saved the expense of reserved seats). For the condensed phrase Boeckh compares the words used for parts of the market, *οἱ ἰχθύες*, &c.

τὰ ὅλα, very common in Demosthenes for 'the general interests of the city'; cf. § 303 *τοῖς ὅλοις*.

Decree of Demosthenes. § 29.

This and other traditional documents are printed in the text according to custom, although they are not to be accepted as genuine. See Introduction, p. xxxiii foll.

This decree does not correspond with the facts as recorded by Aeschines and Demosthenes in their speeches on the Embassy. Dem. F. L. 94; Aesch. F. L. 91, 97. There are errors in the date, the name of the archon, and the number of the ambassadors, (5 for 10).

φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης. For the arrangements of the committees of the Boulè see Gardnér and Jevons, *Gk. Ant.*, p. 485.

ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα, 'sanctioned by vote,' used by Demosthenes, Phil. 1. 30.

τῇ πρώτῃ. There were four regular meetings of the Ecclesia in each month, any others were specially summoned (*σύγκλητοι*, cf. § 37).

ὑπερβολήν, 'delay.' Cf. Hdt. 8. 112 *τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολή*. S has **ἀναβολήν** in a later hand.

χρηστοί here, as often, ironical; cf. 89. § 30.

καθῆντο, 'sat idle'; used elsewhere with a play on the use of the word for those sitting in the Ecclesia. Cf. Chers. 53 *ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς δεῖν πείθειν, οἳ πεπεισμένοι κάθησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττοντα.*

τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, this is rather an exaggeration.

ἐξὸν . . . λαβόντας. The case of the participle is influenced by the infinitive instead of by *ἐξόν*. There is always a tendency for the subject of an infinitive to pass into the accusative.

ἡμερῶν, genitive of time within which; cf. § 35.

ὁμοίως δέ is the reading of S and must be translated 'and equally well,' a rather unusual expression. Hence some editors prefer *μᾶλλον δέ*, corrective, 'or rather,' and Weil emends to *οὐρίας δέ*, 'in fair weather.'

ἐξελεῖν. Cf. Ol. 2. 7 *τῷ Ποτίδαιαν οὖσαν ὑμετέραν ἐξελεῖν*.

ἤ, 'or else' (=*εἰ δὲ μή*); cf. Ol. 2. 8.

ὠρκίζομεν. Both *ὁρκίζειν* and *ὁρκοῦν* are good Attic. Demosthenes uses both: cf. De Fals. Leg. 278 *ὁρκοῦν . . ὤρκισαν.*

§ 31. **κλέμμα**, 'the first instance of Philip's theft and these wrongdoers' corruption.'

πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι: note that the metaphorical word comes first and the ordinary word afterwards.

§ 32. **ὦμοσε**, an emendation for *ὡμολόγησε* of the MSS., which is a harsh construction. Cf. Phil. 3. 15 *εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει.*

ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν: this is equivalent to an object clause (*τὸ μὴ ἀπιέναι*), whereas *ὅπως* with subjunctive is generally final. Hence Cobet and others prefer *ἄπιμεν.*

εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιτο. Cf. the use of *εὐτρεπίζω* in Demosthenes, e. g. Ol. 1. 13 *πάνθ' ὅν ἐβούλετο εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον.*

εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον. This active intervention of Athens in 352, which prevented Philip's junction with the Thebans against the Phocians, is more than once referred to with pride by Demosthenes.

ἅμα . . . καί expresses the exact contemporaneousness of the two clauses 'that at the moment when you heard us bring this news he might be within the pass of Pylae.' Cf. Phil. 1. 36 *τοιγαροῦν ἅμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριπράρχους καθίσταμεν.*

§ 33. **ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ'.** *πράγματα* has as many shades of meaning as 'res' in Latin. To take only this speech we find it used in the following ways: § 15 *παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα*, 'at the moment of the event.' § 17 *τὰ πράγματα*, 'circumstances,' 'the situation.' cf. § 20 (where perhaps it has almost the meaning of 'troubles,' as in *πράγματα παρέχειν*). § 27 *τοῖς λοιποῖς . . . πράγμασιν*, 'objects,' 'enterprises,' and in a similar sense here 'his object should slip from his grasp,' or perhaps 'the opportunity should escape him.'

τὸν κατάπτυστον. For the language of the Athenian law-courts cf. § 136 note.

§ 34. **παρ' ὅλον, κ.τ.λ.** Cf. supra, § 10.

ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς, 'if Aeschines had not gone outside the indictment.'

ἕτερον, 'irrelevant'; cf. § 44.

§ 35. **τῷ παρεληλυθέναι.** Dative gives the reason for alarm; cf. Ol. 3. 3.

μάλα σεμνῶς, 'in his grand phrases,' often used ironically. Cf. 130 and *σεμνός* 258.

ἀναλγησία and *ἀναισθησία* are both attributed to the unfortunate Thebans; the former is 'want of feeling,' 'brutality,' the latter more intellectual 'want of perception,' 'stupidity.' For this view of the Thebans cf. supra, § 18 note.

βαρύτητος. Cf. supra, § 19 *οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι.*

§ 36. **ὑποῦσαν.** Here used of a feeling underlying the relations of Athens with Thebes.

πρός is double-sided; not merely 'our enmity for the Thebans,' but 'the enmity between us and the Thebans.' Cf. infra.

εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν. Cf. Ar. Vesp. 453 *ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν τάχ' ἡμῖν δώσετον καλὴν δίκην οὐκέτ' ἐς μακράν.*

τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας, κ.τ.λ. The destruction of the Phocian cities was the fatal result of the Peace of 346, and its horrors and political effects are often described by Demosthenes, cf. F. L. 65.

σκευαγωγεῖν, 'had to bring in your chattels from the country.' It was this sort of necessity which made the countrymen of Attica so averse to the continuance of the war with Sparta. Cf. Thuc. 2. 14 *χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο.*

τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν, κ.τ.λ. The enmity with Thebans and Thessalians was of much older date, going back to the time of the Persian war, but it was, no doubt, increased by this conduct of Athens.

Decree of Callisthenes. § 37.

The name of the archon is wrong, and the date, and the facts generally do not agree with the account given in F. L. 58-60 86, 125.

συγκλήτου, 'specially convoked'; cf. § 29 note. This is not consistent with F. L. 125 *ἀπήγγειλεν ὑμῖν ἐκκλησιάζουσιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ὅτι Φωκεῖς ἀπολώλασι.*

ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν. Cf. § 169 *τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν.*

παρευρέσει, 'pretext.'

κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι, 'spend the night,' a phrase used in Polybius and Plutarch.

τι ἀδύνατον. Cf. § 108 *τὰ ἀδύνατα.* § 38.

ἐπικρινέτω. Not a technical term at Athens, though used by Plato for a 'final decision,' and there is no evidence of a special court of this kind.

ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγός. This seems to mean the general in command of troops as opposed to the general in control of finance, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*, but this document cannot be trusted. Cf. C. I. A. ii. 331 *χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα στρατηγός* (circ. 270 B.C.).

ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως. There is no mention elsewhere of a general with such a title. The phrase occurs again in a document in § 115 (see note), but there is no reason to believe either of these genuine.

ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, 'the clerk of the council': the office was at this time an annual one.

ἐπὶ ταύταις, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 64. 89.

§ 39. **Philip's letter.**

The contents of this letter are inconsistent with Demosthenes' comments.

προσετίθετο, 'join, come over to.' Cf. § 195.

τοῖς . . . ὅλοις. Advbl. Nothing follows to answer to *μέν*.

ὁμοίως seems to mean 'all the same' (= *ὅμως*).

προτερήσετε. Found in Thuc. 1. 33, and common in later Greek.

§ 40. **δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται**. See Index (double phrases, 'how plainly and precisely he lays it down.' *διορίζομαι* is not much more than 'affirm' (see Dissen).

τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους. The Thebans and Thessalians.

ᾤχετ' ἐκείνους λαβών, 'he carried them away with him'; the resulting state of mind being expressed by *εἰς τό, κ.τ.λ.* 'he carried them away so completely that they lost all foresight and were absolutely blind to what was coming.'

§ 41. **συνεργός, κ.τ.λ.** The repetition of **σύν** is emphatic 'the man who worked with him and fought with him to produce this confidence.'

φενακίσας. A very common word in Demosthenes to express quackery and cajolery.

δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, κ.τ.λ. Strongly ironical, 'for it is very plain, Aeschines, that you are grieved at what has happened, and that you pity the Thebans, you who have property in Boeotia and are farming the land that was theirs, and I of course am delighted, I whose surrender was immediately demanded by the man who did all this,' i. e. by Alexander, who after taking Thebes demanded from Athens the surrender of nine leading anti-Macedonians.

§ 42. **ἀλλὰ γάρ**, 'but the fact is.'

αὐτίκα, 'presently.' Demosthenes now goes on to describe the condition of Greece after the destruction of the Phocian towns in 346.

§ 43. **κατάπτυστοι**. For this low view of the Thessalians cf. Aristocr. 112 *ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδένα πρυδώκατε πώποτε τῶν φίλων, Θετταλοὶ δ' οὐδένα πώποθ' ὕστερον*, οὔ. The Scholiast on Ar. Plut. 521 quotes a proverb *ἀεὶ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἄπιστα*.

ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι. Cf. §§ 35 and 18 and note thereon.

πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν, 'he was all in all to them.' Cf. Thuc. 8. 95 *Εὔβοια γὰρ αὐτοῖς . . . πάντα ἦν*.

ἄλλο τι, κ.τ.λ., 'to speak in different terms of him.'

ὑφορώμενοι, 'viewing with suspicion.'

καὶ . . δέ, 'and . . . also.' Cf. § 215.

τρόπον τινά, 'in a way,' 'indirectly.' Cf. § 101.

πολεμούμενοι. For the construction, repeated in § 44, cf. Phil. 3. 9.

§ 44. **ὅτε γάρ, κ.τ.λ.**, this refers to the events between 346 and 340.

περιών, 'ranging up and down.'

δυνάμεις. Probably used quite generally, of 'resources'; cf. § 234, although with a special reference to military forces, as in § 237.

ἐπὶ τῇ . . . ἐξουσίᾳ, 'under cover of the peace'; 'in the security which the peace afforded.'

ἐκεῖσε, 'to Macedon.'

ἕτερος λόγος is predicate: 'that is another question' (i. e. irrelevant); cf. Phil. 3. 16 *ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος.*

προύλεγον, *κ.τ.λ.* The usual pair of verbs, 'uttered warnings and protests.' § 45.

ἐνόσουν. Cf. § 23 *ὑγιές* and the note on it. It is frequently used of political disorder: Hdt. 5. 28 *νοσήσασα στάσι.* The disease is here explained in participial clauses, in which the state of the (1) leaders in politics, and (2) the rank and file, are set forth. 'The cities of Greece were unsound to the core; their public men were taking bribes in the conduct of affairs, and were allowing themselves to be corrupted for money, the mass of the citizens were partly blinded to the future, and partly deluded by the bait of daily ease and leisure. In a word all were subject to an infatuation of this sort: they imagined in each city that disaster would come upon any one but themselves, and that through the perils of other men they would secure their own fortunes, whenever they chose to do so.'

ἐπὶ χρήμασι, 'for money.' Cf. F. L. 182 *ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐπίτηδες ἐξηπάτηκεν ὑμᾶς,* De Pac. 5 *ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασι.*

ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν. *καί* is explanatory: 'private persons who formed the mass of the people,' corresponding to *τοῖς πλήθεσιν* in § 46.

πλὴν οὐκ. Cf. Dem. 56. 23 *πλέουσα πανταχοῦ πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθήνας.*

οἰομένων in apposition to **πεπονθότων,** but really explanatory of it, 'they had fallen under this delusion, that they imagined.' For *πάσχειν* in this sense cf. Plato, Apol. 22 *τοιοῦτόν τί μοι ἐφάνησαν πάθος καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πεπονθότες.*

ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, transitive, as in Dem. Aristocr. 8 *τὸ Χερρόνησον ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν πεποιηκός.*

εἶτ' οἶμαι. *εἶτα* is used, as often, to introduce a logical result. § 46.

θεοῖς ἐχθροί. A common term of abuse in the orators and in comedy; cf. § 61.

These bitter clauses on 'The Traitor's Progress' are very characteristic of Demosthenes' spirit and of his method of appeal to the past history of Greece. § 47.

τοῦ προδιδόντος. For this use of the participle = *ὁ προδότης* cf. *ἡ τίκτουσα.*

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν, *κ.τ.λ.,* 'for, if that were so, the traitor's lot would be a happier one than any other: but it is not so! how could it be? far from it.' For the strong denial, followed by a question, cf. infra, § 140.

τότε δή. The δή is used, as often in Thucydides, to mark a critical moment arrived at, 'then, though not before.'

§ 48. τῶν πραγμάτων . . . τοῦ γε εἰδέναι, κ.τ.λ., 'though the time for action is gone by, the time for learning what such events can teach is ever present for those who are wise.'

μέχρι τούτου: the insertion of these words prepares the way for ἕως, and adds much to the force of the sentence. 'There was a time when Lasthenes was named a friend, but it was only till he had betrayed Olynthus, &c.'

Lasthenes: cf. Chers. 40. Phil. 3. 56. 66, a hipparch, of Olynthus who betrayed some cavalry to Philip.

Timolaus (cf. 295) incited the people of Amphissa against Athens, and so led to Philip's intervention which ended in the ruin of Thebes.

Eudicus and Simus are said to have belonged to the Aleuadae of Larissa, who were opposed to the tyrants of Pherae whom Philip overthrew in 352; but the only positive evidence is this passage, and οἱ Λαρισαῖοι is not found in S and L.

εἶτ', 'afterwards, when their task was done, they were harried and insulted and exposed to every misery till the whole Greek world was overrun with them.'

μεστή is not merely numerical, but implies aversion; cf. infra, 308.

τί δ'; like *quid* in Latin, to introduce a rhetorical question: 'what shall we say of?' or 'look at.'

Aristratus, cf. § 295, according to Plutarch was tyrant in Sicyon; he made a league between Sicyon and Philip in 338.

Perilaus, head of the Macedonian party in Megara in 338.

ἀπερριμμένοι, 'outcasts.'

§ 49. τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ, κ.τ.λ., 'secures you the possession of that which will enable you to receive bribes.' ἐπί, as usual, expresses condition.

διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τούτους . . διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, 'you have to thank these people, the majority, the men who resist your desires, that you are alive and drawing pay, for if you had only had yourselves to look to, you would have perished long ago.' For τούτους S has τουτωνί, retained by some editors.

§ 50. ἰωλοκρασίαν, 'bespattered me, so to say, with a stale mess of his own wickedness': a disgusting metaphor.

ἀπολύσασθαι, 'to clear myself of.'

τοὺς νεωτέρους, κ.τ.λ., 'to those who are too young to remember the events.' The interval is that between 346 and 330.

§ 51. θεριστάς. Chosen as the most casual class of day-labourer.

§ 52. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι, κ.τ.λ. Cf. supra, § 47, from which Blass thinks it is inserted.

πότερον ὑμῖν. This is the rhetorical artifice of appealing to the

audience and supplying their answer. The Scholiast has a story that Demosthenes pronounced *μισθωτός* with the accent on the first syllable, that the audience might repeat the word and so give him the answer he wanted.

τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς, 'the indictment itself,' as opposed to the irrelevant charges which have been mixed up with it. After some paragraphs dealing with the order of his reply (§§ 53–59), he sets forth his services to Athens, (1) abroad, §§ 60–101, (2) at home, §§ 101–9, and leaves to the end the more technical questions of the legality of the proclamation, §§ 110–125. § 53.

προβεβουλευμένων. The gifts proposed in the resolution of the Boulè.

δίκαιος εἶναι. One instance out of many of the Greek preference for a personal construction, cf. § 59, 217: 'it is right that I should receive' or 'I have a right to receive.'

Aeschines' Indictment. §§ 54, 55.

This document is wrongly dated. Chaerondas was archon 338–7. Ctesiphon's proposal and Aeschines' indictment belong to the archonship of Phrynichus Ol. 110. 4 (337–6).

ἀπήνεγκε. 'handed in.' *ἀποφέρειν* is used like *deferre* in Latin. *ἀπό* having the same force as in *ἀποδοῦναι*. It is doubtful whether the indictment would contain these words.

πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα. The indictment would be brought before the six archons. The singular here cannot be explained.

τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, 'at the performance of the new tragedies.' A common idiom, cf. Latin *gladiatoribus*.

καταβάλλεσθαι, 'to be deposited' in the record-office). § 55.

ὑπεύθυνον. A man still liable to his official audit. Cf. § 111. It is probable that Demosthenes was technically still liable.

τειχοποιός, 'commissioner of walls.' The Tribes among which the repairs of public walls were distributed, each appointed a board of *τειχοποιοί*, who superintended and paid for the work, which was done by contractors. (Müller, *Gr. Alt.* i. § 188.)

ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν. See note on § 113, below.

τῇ καινῇ. At the performance of new plays = *τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς* above. Cf. Boeckh. C. I. p. 461, 20 *κυκλίων τῇ πρώτῃ*, quoted by Weil.

τίμημα. The sum proposed as penalty by the plaintiff.

κλήτορες, 'witnesses to the summons.' Nothing is known of these: the names are probably invented.

ψηφίσματος. Partitive genitive; cf § 59. § 56.

τὴν γὰρ αὐτήν. κ.τ.λ. Demosthenes actually follows not Aeschines' order but the order of the indictment.

τοῦ μὲν οὖν . . . τὸ δὲ μή. For this antithesis of infinitive clauses cf. 254. § 57.

ἐπαινεῖν, 'propose a vote of thanks': here, it will be noticed, Demosthenes makes no mention of the crown.

ἐν τοῖς, κ.τ.λ. 'Your decision on this clause depends upon my public acts.' For this use of ἐν cf. Thuc. 1. 77 ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις.

ἐξεταζομένων. Very frequently used of the reviewing or examination of a policy. See Index.

εἴτε καί, κ.τ.λ. For this use of καί after the second εἴτε cf. § 58; 'or, if it so be, false.'

§ 58. τὸ δὲ μή. Taken up by τοῦτο. Cf. § 59: 'as to his proposing to honour me with a crown without adding the clause "when he has submitted to his audit."'

κοινωνεῖν, 'be concerned with, belong to,' with dative of person is more common than with dative of thing. For this cf. Xen. Rep. Lac. 11. 3 ταύτην νομίζων ἥκιστα μὲν γυναικείᾳ κοινωνεῖν.

ἐν τούτοις, 'before the people here.' Cf. Ol. 3. 10 ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς νομοθέταις.

μέντοι answers the μέν. Cf. § 12.

καθ' οὗς, 'in virtue of which.' Cf. § 80.

§ 59. ἀπαρτᾶν means 'to detach' or 'disconnect': so here 'let no one think that I am using an argument that has no bearing on the indictment.' For Demosthenes' use of the word cf. Phil. 1. 12 ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις, applied to the Athenians who were not 'on the spot' or ready to bring their forces to bear.

Ἑλληνικάς. Of the affairs of Hellas at large as opposed to purely Athenian policy. In this sense Ἑλληνικαὶ πράξεις sometimes is the nearest equivalent to 'foreign policy.'

τοῦ ψηφίσματος. Cf. § 56.

τὸ λέγειν, κ.τ.λ. The article is used to introduce the words of the decree, as infra, § 110 τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστα, κ.τ.λ.

ὁ γάρ . . . οὗτος. This 'anaphoric' use of the demonstrative is common in Demosthenes, and is one of the means by which the suspense of the period is kept up without loss of emphasis. Cf. § 58, Phil. 3. 18. 'For the man who attacks in the decree the clause "my speeches and my policy were the best," and has indicted these statements as untrue, he and none other has thereby made all that I have to say on my past policy have a close, nay necessary bearing on the indictment.'

προαιρέσεων. Cf. supra, § 12 note, 'departments of political life.'

τὰς ἀποδείξεις. 'So that I am justified in basing the proofs of my position upon these matters.'

δίκαιός εἰμι. Cf. § 53.

§ 60. πολιτεύεσθαι, the more general, precedes the more particular δημηγορεῖν. Cf. § 4 πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι.

προύλαβε defines **κατέσχε**. 'The places which Philip forestalled us by seizing.' Amphipolis, Pydna and Potidaea were all lost before the speech on the Companies.

ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην. 'I came forward into public affairs.' Cf. § 233 *ἐπιστάς*. *ἐπιστῆναι* with dative is used of gaining control over affairs. Cf. Phil. 1. 12 *ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες*, and similarly F. L. 34 *τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασι τούτοις*.

διεκωλύθη is in sharp contrast with the verbs of the preceding clause, 'he was actually prevented from taking.' *καί* is retained here on the authority of the best MSS., S and L, against the majority of editors who omit it. L has in a second hand *διεκώλυον* which is much less forcible.

τοσοῦτον, κ.τ.λ., 'but I must first say just this much.' Cf. § 124 *τοσοῦτον ἐρωτήσας*.

ὑπῆρξε. See Index. 'Philip had one great advantage to start with.'

φοράν, 'a crop' or 'harvest.' Cf. Aesch. in Ctes. § 234 *ὅτι δ' οὐ* § 61. *γεγένηται φορὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ῥητόρων πονηρῶν ἅμα καὶ τολμηρῶν εὐτυχοῦμεν*. For the fact cf. § 45, supra.

φορά is used later in the speech in a different sense, 'tendency,' § 271.

συναγωνιστάς, κ.τ.λ. Cf. supra, § 41 and *συναγωνιζόμενος*, § 25.

διαφθείρων. The context shows that this refers not to material destruction, as of the towns of Phocis, but of moral or political corruption.

διέστησεν. Cf. Phil. 3. 28 *οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διορωρύγμεθα κατὰ πόλεις*.

κατάστασει, 'situation,' defined by the words that follow. § 62.

ἔτι ἀγνοίᾳ. This adjectival use of the adverb without an article is rare.

φυομένου. Cf. *κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο*, supra, § 19. The Zurich editors read *φυρομένου* from *φυο μενου* of S, but the more general word is better.

πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν. 'What conduct and course of action was it proper for Athens to adopt?' *πράττειν* has a more ethical shade of meaning than *ποιεῖν*.

ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα, κ.τ.λ. 'The man who devoted himself to this side of public policy was none other than myself.' Cf. § 59.

For the genitive after *ἐνταῦθα* cf. Soph. Aj. 659 *γαίας ὑρύξας ἔνθα μή τις ὕψεται*, and for the emphatic position of *ἐγώ* cf. § 81 *σύ*.

τὸ φρόνημα, 'her high spirit.' § 63.

ἐν τῇ . . . τάξει. This military metaphor is very common in Demosthenes. 'Enlisting under the same banner, or serving in the same ranks with the Thessalians.' For the Thessalians cf. § 43.

τὰ . . . καλὰ καὶ δίκαια. 'Cancel the noble and just acts of our forefathers.'

τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, κ.τ.λ. 'Without going so far as that, for that would indeed have been a scandal, was it to look on passively and see,' &c.

§ 64. τῆς ποίας μερίδος. 'To what party he would have wished Athens to belong.' For the genitive cf. Phil. 3. 56 *ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ . . . τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππου . . . τινὲς δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου.*

εἴποι τις . . . θείημεν. Notice the change in expression, as in English from 'one' to 'we.'

§ 65. ἀπηλλάχασιν, 'have come off worse.' Cf. Aesch. Ag. 1289 *οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει.*

ἤν ἄν τις. Many MSS. read ὅμως after τις, and hence οὐκ has been inserted before *ἐναντιωθέντων*, but ὅμως is not given by the best MSS. and the reading in the text gives a very good sense, and prepares the way better for *ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες.*

περιείλετο. Used of stripping a man of his clothes, or a town of its walls.

τὰς πολιτείας, 'their free constitutions.' Cf. Phil. 3. 26 *οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πόλεις παρῄρηται*; Philip had attempted to establish tyrants in Euboea.

§ 66. ἐκεῖσε. To the point where I digressed, i.e. the question of the proper policy for Athens (end of § 64).

ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα. The general word and then the particular. Cf. § 60.

κατασκευαζόμενον. Establishing for himself: the active is used in § 71.

τὸν Ἀθήνησιν. Vulgo *ἐμέ*, which is unnecessary, and less pointed.

ἐκ παντός, κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 26.

ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, 'ascended the platform'; of coming forward into public life.

πρωτεῖον, 'precedence,' literally 'prize for being first.' Cf. §§ 203, 209.

καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα, 'money and lives.'

ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας. 'for national ends.' 'in the public service.' Cf. Androt. 76 *πάνθ' ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας ἀνήλωσεν.*

§ 67. ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ. Cf. *ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα*, § 66.

ὁ ἀγών. Sometimes used in contrast with *πόλεμος*, for a short and final conflict as opposed to a continuous warfare, but here used in a more general sense like *ἀγωνιζομένην* just above.

τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, κ.τ.λ. Philip lost his eye at Methone (353). According to the scholiast his collar-bone was broken in an Illyrian campaign, and his hand and leg were wounded on his way back from his Scythian expedition of 339.

τοῦτο used, as often, after a relative clause to give point to the statement.

ὥστε expresses condition. Cf. § 81.

τῷ λοιπῷ, 'with the rest.' A sort of dative of accompaniment.

§ 68. **καὶ μήν** generally introduces a new consideration. See Index.

τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ, *κ.τ.λ.* Demosthenes always treats Philip as a barbarian who has no standing in the Hellenic world, and who represents the brute force of tyranny and personal rule as opposed to the reasonable government of law and free speech.

ἐπιθυμῆσαι. For the 'ingressive' aorist 'to conceive a desire for,' cf. Phil. 3. 18 *τῷ Πελοποννησίους τἀκείνου φρονῆσαι*, 'adopt his cause,' and *ἐθελῆσαι*, de Pace, 3, &c.

εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι. 'Entertain this idea in his mind.'

κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην is much stronger than *καθ' ἡμέραν*, 'day by day and every day.'

καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι. 'in every word you hear and every sight you see.' For the sentiment cf. De Fals. Leg. 269 *ἔστι δ' ὑμῖν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τούτων μόνοις τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἰκείοις χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασι.*

ὑπομνήμαθ' ὁρῶσι is better than *ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι* of some MSS. as *θεωρήμασι* precedes, although the Greeks tolerate more violent alliteration and assonance than we do in English.

ὑπάρξαι. He uses the word which is generally used of a permanent characteristic, 'should stamp yourselves as so base.' See Index.

αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντάς, 'by your own offer and of your own free will.' There is no sufficient reason for omitting the second word, as some editors do.

παραχωρῆσαι. Of retiring from a position and allowing another to occupy it, and so, of any surrender. Cf. de Pace 25 *καὶ Φιλίππῳ νυνὶ κατὰ συνθήκας Ἀμφιπόλεως παρακεχωρήκομεν.*

§ 69. **λοιπόν**, *κ.τ.λ.* 'There was only one course open, and you were bound to take it.'

ἔγραφον, *κ.τ.λ.* 'I proposed motions and delivered speeches.'

Amphipolis and Pydna were taken by Philip in 357, Potidaea in 356. The negotiations as to Halonnesus and Hegesippus' speech on it belong to 342 B.C. Serrion, &c., the posts occupied by Philip at the time of the negotiations for peace, 346, cf. supra 27. The people of Peparethus had taken Halonnesus and Philip's garrison; in revenge for which a Macedonian squadron under Alcimus ravaged Peparethus in 340.

§ 70. **οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα**, 'I completely ignore them.' Cf. Mid. 78 *τοῦτον οὐδ' εἰ γέγον' εἰδώς.*

ταῦτα λέγοντα, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'you declared that it was by my speeches about these that I set the Athenians at enmity with Philip.'

Eubulus. Cf. 21; the famous finance officer at Athens and head of the 'peace at any price' party.

Aristophon, the leading statesman at Athens after the fall of Callistratus in 361; his policy was discredited in the Social War and he

was succeeded by Eubulus. Demosthenes' speech against Androtion is directed against his policy.

Diopithes: best known as general sent by Athens in 342 to settle Cleruchs in the Chersonese. Cf. de Chers. passim. Westermann and Schaefer, however, think that Diopithes of Sphettus is meant here: Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*, ii. 422 (first edition).

εὐχερῶς, of glib and light speaking.

§ 71. **ἐκεῖνος**, put in the emphatic place.

ἐπιτείχισμα: bears its usual meaning of a fort commanding or threatening an enemy's country. Cf. Phil. I. 5 and Thuc. *ἐπιτειχισμός*, I. 122, &c.

Megara. In 343 an attempt was made to put it in Philip's hands, but prevented by Athens. In 343 and 342 Philip established his power in Euboea by setting up tyrants, Clitarchus at Eretria, and Philistides at Oreus. Blass thinks that Megara is out of place here among Euboean incidents, and is therefore inclined to omit either this clause or the next.

Porthmus, the harbour of Eretria, was occupied by some of the anti-Macedonian party driven out by Clitarchus, and was attacked and destroyed by Philip's general Hipponicus.

Hellespont. Cf. §§ 87, 241. Philip's operations here in alliance with Cardia were directed against the Athenian corn-trade; see Demosthenes' speech on the Chersonese.

Byzantium in 340 B.C.

ἃς μὲν . . . ἃς δέ. It is doubtful whether these forms can stand here in face of the general Attic usage, which requires *τὰς μὲν . . τὰς δέ*. The text is found in all MSS., but these forms appear nowhere else in Demosthenes, except in two of the spurious documents of this speech, nor in any but later writers, e.g. Lucian. Blass thinks Demosthenes had rhythmical reasons for using this form.

κατάγων: the technical word for restoring an exile. Cf. *κατελθεῖν*.

ἠδίκει, κ.τ.λ.; for the triple phrase see Index (arrangement of words).

φανῆναι, 'come forward.' Cf. 173. **ἢ μή**, sc. *φανῆναι*.

τὸν . . . κωλύσοντα. For this use of the future participle of purpose cf. Soph. Ant. 261 *οὐδ' ὁ κωλύσων παρῆν*.

§ 72. **τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν**. A proverbial phrase for an unresisting prey: but the origin of the proverb is unknown. Aristot. Rhet. i. 12 *τοὺς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀδικηθέντας καὶ μὴ ἐπεξελθόντας, ὡς ὄντας τούτους κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν Μυσῶν λείαν*. The Mysians were a despised people. Cf Plat. Theaet. 209 B *τὸ λεγόμενον Μυσῶν τὸν ἔσχατον*.

ζώντων καὶ ὄντων, 'while the Athenians live and are a state.' Cf. F. L. 64 *οὔσης τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως*.

περιείργασμαι, 'my action has been superfluous.' 'I have thrown away my efforts when I spoke on these affairs.'

ἔστω δέ, κ.τ.λ., 'and I grant you that everything that has been done has been wrongdoing and blundering of mine.'

ἔδει, used for variety, for it is hard to find any difference between this and ἐχρῆν in § 71.

κωλυτήν. It is more in Thucydides' manner than in Demosthenes' to make use of these verbals in *-τής*.

μὴ προῖεσθαι. The object is to be supplied from *πάντας ἀνθρώπους*.

τὴν εἰρήνην γ'. So far as the peace goes, it was he who broke it § 73.
and not Athens.

τὰ πλοῖα λαβών. Cf. § 139. This must refer to some of Philip's naval operations in the East about 341, but cannot be identified with any definite act.

τίς τίνος. For the double interrogative cf. F. L. 63 *σκοπεῖτε τί πιστεύσαντες τί ἔπαθον*.

Decree. The Archon is wrong and no *day* of the month is given.

σύγκλητος. Cf. §§ 29, 37. The Ecclesia was not summoned by the Strategi but by the *Prytanes*. See below.

Εὔβουλος . . Κόπριος. If the great Eubulus is referred to, as the context (§ 75, &c.) implies, the deme is wrongly given. It should be Anaphlystus.

ναύαρχον. The word is technically used of the Spartan admiral, here applied to a subordinate naval officer.

The name Leodamas appears in Philip's letter (§ 77) as Laomedon.

καταγήοχεν: used of capturing an enemy's vessels and taking them into port; cf. Chers. 9 *Διοπείθης ἀδικεῖ κατάγων τὰ πλοῖα*. The form *ἀγήοχα* is pronounced by Phrynichus as un-Attic, though occurring in Lysias.

τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς. According to Aristot. Ath. Pol. 43. 3 the Prytanes summon the Boulè as well as the Ecclesia; cf. infra, § 169.

μεμψιμοιρεῖ, a later Greek word. § 74.

ἐπισκεψάμενοι, 'having gone into the matter.'

κατὰ τὴν . . . ἀξίαν, 'as his neglect of orders deserves.

ἰδίᾳ, 'without authority.'

καὶ λέγειν. The inf. depends like ἐπιμεληθῆναι on εἶπεν. The καί expresses correspondence of statement with fact, 'they should state it accordingly.' Blass and others read *καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν*, but *τοῦτο* is not found in S.

Hegesippus, an orator of the anti-Macedonian party, probably § 75.
author of the speech on Halonnesus. He first appears in 364 B.C. The names here, as in § 70, do not belong to the period now in question, but are names of men who at any time have proposed decrees

against Philip. Philocrates went into exile in 343. Cephisophor, cf. § 21.

Decrees. Instead of another decree, which we expect from the context, this is a record of the choice of envoys. The Archon is wrong, the phrases *βουλῆς γνώμῃ* and *κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα* are inappropriate.

ἐχρημάτισαν, 'began business'; cf. § 169.

ἀνενεγκόντες, 'having reported.' Cf. Thuc. 5. 28.

Κηφισοφῶντα, *κ.τ.λ.*: these important envoys are unknown.

πρυτανεία, *κ.τ.λ.*: this formula is unparalleled.

Ἀριστοφῶν. Demosthenes only mentions Ar. of the Azenian deme.

§ 76. **ὁποῖον**, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'name a decree of any description that I have proposed which makes me responsible for the war.'

§ 77. **Philip's Letter.** From the words introducing it we expect to find in it the names of Athenian statesmen (*ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν*). The real letter probably enumerated Philip's grievances instead of surrendering the ships to Athens.

πρόφασιν μὲν . . βοηθήσοντα δέ, 'nominally to convoy the corn, &c., but really.'

ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. See § 73. The composer of the documents had no clear idea of the geography of this incident.

§ 78. **συνετάχθη**, 'these orders were given.'

συντετελέσθαι, 'to be accomplished': a late use of the word.

πρόσοδον, 'a source of income.'

§ 79. **εἰ . . . ἔγραφεν.** S has *γέγραφεν*, which is impossible. Droysen emended this into *γ' ἔγραφεν*; others read *γεγράφει* or omit the clause.

εἰχόμην, 'I fastened upon them.'

τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. In 344, cf. Phil. 2. 19.

παρεδύετο: used of surreptitious encroachment, 'when Philip was furtively forcing his way into Peloponnese'; cf. Androt. 48 *παρέδυ*.

τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν. Philip took Oreus in 342 and established Philistides as tyrant. Athens made alliance with Chalcis in 342, and Oreus was liberated by a combined effort of Athens, Chalcis and Megara in 341.

§ 80. **ἀποστόλους**, 'armaments,' as always in classical Greek; cf. § 107.

καθ' οὕς. Cf. § 58. This refers to the events of 341–339.

περιεγένετο, as often in Thucydides, of a final result.

§ 81. **καὶ μήν**, 'again.'

ὥστε, expresses condition, cf. § 67.

ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, 'if he might count upon possessing these points of vantage (Oreus and Eretria) against you.'

ἐξελέγχεσθαι . . ἐξετάζειν. A rather sudden change from passive to active construction.

πανταχοῦ: one would rather expect *μηδαμοῦ*.

ἀφικνούμενοι is here the participle of the imperfect. § 82.

κατέλυον, 'lodged.'

προυξένευς, 'entertained them,' 'acted as their host.' The word is used in a general and not a technical sense.

τούτων. The proposals of the envoys.

ἀτιμώσαντες. The dicasts could not directly disfranchise Aeschines, but if he failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes, he would be fined and become *ἄτιμος* if he failed to pay, and in any case he would be barred from bringing a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* again.

τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβάς. Aristonicus having made a proposal word § 83. for word the same as this of Ctesiphon.

δευτέρου . . τούτου γιγνομένου. This is the reading of most MSS., including S. Aristonicus' decree having been carried out, the proclamation on Ctesiphon's decree was the second, for the decree of Demomeles and Hyperides, mentioned in § 223, was not carried out, owing to the disaster at Chaeronea. The clause which really expresses a consequence (= *ὥστε γίγνεσθαι*) is tacked on as a second genitive absolute. It is better to explain thus than to take *τούτου* of Aristonicus' decree, as we know of no decree previous to his, which would explain *δευτέρου*.

Decree of Aristonicus. It belongs to the spring of 340, and § 84. therefore to the archonship of Nicomachus, and not of Chaerondas. His deme is Anagyrus.

χρείας, 'services.'

τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ: too vague for a decree.

τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς. Cf. supra, § 54.

ἀγωνοθέτην. This is an anachronism; see infra, § 116, note.

ἔστιν . . ὅστις; for the form cf. supra, § 22. § 85.

χλευασμός, 'mockery': an uncommon word. Demosthenes also uses *χλευασία*.

νῦν, 'just now.'

ὡς ἑτέρως, 'if they are wrong'; cf. § 212.

πάντας . . τοὺς χρόνους. This is the reading of most MSS., but § 86. S omits *τοὺς χρόνους*. If it is not read, it must be supplied from *τῶν χρόνων*, unless we accept Dobree's correction *πάντως*, which is less forcible.

ἀνωμολόγημαι. *ἀνομολογέομαι* is elsewhere used (in good authors) only in the middle, 'to agree upon, to come to an understanding,' and so Rehdantz-Blass take it here; but it seems better to take it as a passive, 'I have been admitted'; cf. § 266.

προσόδους, 'procession for thanksgiving,' 'supplicatio.'

§ 87. **ὑφ' ὑμῶν.** These words are placed by Blass (after SS) before **ἐξηλάθη**.

διαρραγῶσι, 'if they burst their cheeks with denial'; cf. § 21.

ἐπιτειχισμόν. Cf. **ἐπιτείχισμα,** § 71.

σίτῳ . . ἐπεισάκτῳ. For the importance of the Athenian corn-trade cf. in Lept. 31 foll. and Boeckh's *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, i. 15.

χάρακα, 'a stockade.' The word which generally means a single stake is here used collectively. It has the authority of Harpocration, but is altered by Blass to *χαράκωμα*; cf. Phil. 2. 23.

ἐπιστήσας, 'bringing engines to bear on it.' Cf. Phil. 3. 17.

§ 88. **ποιεῖν,** 'what you ought to have been doing.'

τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς, 'when I use the word "you," I mean the city.'

ἁπλῶς, simply and unreservedly, cf. 179; the word is hardly wanted here with *ἀφειδῶς*. For the sense cf. 219.

ἑαυτὸν . . . δούς. Cf. § 97.

§ 89. **ἐνστάς,** 'the war that was then set on foot.' Cf. § 139 *ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος*.

ἄνευ, 'besides.'

διήγαγεν, 'kept you going'; 'kept you alive'; a rare use of the word: but there is a similar use in Soph. El. 782 *ἀλλ' ὁ προστατῶν χρόνος διῆγέ μ' αἰὲν ὡς θανουμένην*. The commoner use is *βίον διάγειν*, or *διάγειν* abs. as in Chers. 26 *ἀφ' ὧν ἀγείρει . . . ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει*.

κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος, 'to the injury of our country.'

μὴ μετάσχοιεν. S reads *καὶ μετάσχοιεν . . μὴ μετάδοιεν* which gives a more gentle, but perhaps a less Hellenic meaning, and the antithesis with the following *μή* is lost.

§ 90. **Decree of Byzantines.** This and the next decree are the least suspicious in the speech, but there are difficulties in accepting them. (1) This decree does not order the crown, though it implies it. (2) Perinthus and Byzantium are merged in one decree; we know of no relation between the cities which explains this. (3) *ἀποκατέστασε, κ.τ.λ.* We know of no change in the constitution.

ἁλίᾳ. The Doric word for 'assembly,' used at Sparta, Corcyra, &c.

ῥήτραν = προβούλευμα.

ἁμέ. Dor. for *ἡμᾶς*.

τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων. The two cities seem to have agreed to act in common (Weil).

§ 91. **ἐπιγαμίαν,** *κ.τ.λ.*, rights of marriage, citizenship, right of buying land and houses, precedence at festivals, right of access to the Council and the Assembly first after the sacrifice, and freedom from all public services for those who wish to settle in the city.

τῷ Βοσπορίῳ. The MSS. have Βοσπορίχῳ, which has been corrected into Βοσπώρῳ, Βοσπορίῳ or Βοσπορείῳ. In either case it is generally understood of the harbour of Byzantium. Liddell and Scott understand it to be a temple.

θεωρίας, 'deputations.'

§ 92. **Decree of the Chersonesites.** There is nothing in Demosthenes' subsequent words which echoes the language of this decree: and there are some minor difficulties in it.

ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα, 'made of 60 talents' (the small gold talent weighing 6 dr. and worth 60 dr. of silver). For *ἀπό* cf. Herod. 7. 65 *εἴματα . . . ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα.*

παραίτιος: found in the poets and in late prose, and in Inscriptions.

τῆς Φιλίππου, sc. *χειρός*: an unusual and harsh ellipse.

εὐχαριστῶν, for usual *χάριν εἰδώς.* A singular subject must be supplied, *ὁ δῆμος τῶν* Χερρ.

§ 93. **ἡ προαίρεσις,** *κ.τ.λ.* See Index.

καλοκαγαθίαν, 'nobility,' 'generosity.'

§ 94. **ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν,** 'the inconsiderate acts they had been guilty of.' This refers to the revolt of the allies, in which Byzantium, Chios, Cos and Rhodes took part, 357–5. Cf. 207 *τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ.* 248 *ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ.*

μνησικακοῦντες, 'bearing malice,' a common word in the orators.

§ 95. **τι δυσχερές.** Cf. § 3. Nothing is said of the Byzantines by Aeschines in the speech which we have.

συκοφαντίας, 'malicious charges.'

ὑπάρχειν, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'this I think you know to begin with (already).'

τὰ μάλιστα, 'if they had been ever so true.'

καθ' ὑμᾶς, 'of the noble acts done by Athens in your time.'

πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'to frame their future conduct by the noblest in their past.' *τῶν ὑπαρχόντων* is the past looked on as a secure possession. Cf. Chers. 49 *ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ πεπραγμένων τοῖς προγόνοις.*

§ 96. **Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας νήσους.** S; the other MSS. have *τὰς ἄλλας.* Dobree conj. *Κέω, τάς* which is adopted by Weil. Blass reads *Κέων.* The reading of the text is possible, though perhaps Κλεωνάς and Αἴγιναν should be transposed: but we know nothing of this occupation of Cleonae, though its citizens were among the Argive allies defeated at Mantinea in 418. See Thuc. 5. 67.

εἰς Ἀλίαρτον, 395 B.C.

τῶν . . . πραχθέντων. Genitive of cause. Cf. § 99 *τούτων τὴν ὀργήν.*

τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον. Decelea in Attica was occupied by the

Spartans in 413, and the importance of this occupation gave its name to the remainder of the war.

§ 97. **αὐτοὺς διδόναι.** Cf. § 88.

οἰκίσκῳ, a 'hovel' rather than a 'cage.' Dissen quotes Propert. 3. 18. 25 'Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et aere, Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput.'

ἐγχειρεῖν, *κ.τ.λ.* 'To strive ever after what is noble, putting good hope before them, but to bear whatever God gives in a manly spirit.' The sentiment of the latter clause is much the same as that of Thuc. 2. 64 *φέρειν χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως.*

It has been discussed whether the metaphor in **προβαλλομένους** is from a mark set before the eyes, or from a shield held forward for defence: but the origin of the phrase need not be pressed very closely. If one has to choose between the two, it is probably the former.

§ 98. **Λακεδαιμονίους**, *κ.τ.λ.* The sentence is compressed, *Λακεδαιμονίους* may be regarded as the object of *ἀνελεῖν* or as the subject of *ἀναιρεθῆναι* understood.

διεκωλύσατε, 'completely prevented.' Cf. supra, § 60.

ὑπὲρ οἵα, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'not nicely calculating for whom you were going to imperil your lives.' The predicate here, as often in Demosthenes, is to be found not in the principal verb but in the participle. Cf. § 27.

διαλογισάμενοι. Used of balancing accounts: here too the idea is perhaps that of setting one thing against another.

§ 99. **καὶ γάρ τοι**, 'and in fact.'

τούτων. Genitive of cause. 'For such offences you cherish anger on other occasions, but, if peril of life or freedom besets them, you will not bear malice against them, or let it tell in the account.' For *τούτων*, some read *τούτῳ*: but this is unnecessary in view of the frequent use of the genitive with *ὀργή* (see Westermann's note).

ὑπολογιεῖσθε. Of bringing some new item into an account.

σφετεριζομένων. In 357 Eretria was attacked by the neighbouring communities which were supported by Thebes: but the Athenians being appealed to sent an expedition under Diocles and in thirty days expelled the Thebans and recovered Eretria to the Athenian league. Themison and Theodorus, tyrants of Eretria in 366, seized Oropus, which then belonged to Athens, in time of peace. Oropus was always a bone of contention between Athens and Thebes, commanding as it did one of the northern approaches to Athens. It was not restored till after the battle of Chaeronea, when Philip gave it back.

τῶν ἐθελοντῶν. Voluntary trierarchs in 358. Cf. in Mid. 161.

§ 100 **καὶ καλόν**, 'Yes, I say, it was a noble act of yours to save the island.'

μηδὲν ὧν, *κ.τ.λ.* The words *ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε* are not found in the

best MSS., but they add something to the force of the sentence; 'in a case where you were trusted.'

τῆς . . . ἐλευθερίας. A very strong instance of the genitive of cause or purpose, 'for the sake of the life and freedom of the Hellenic world generally.' Cobet inserts *ὑπέρ*. But there is an equally strong instance of the use of the simple genitive in F. L. 76 *πᾶσα ἡ ἀπάτη συνεσκενάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας ὀλέθρου* (quoted by Rehdantz-Blass).

εἶτα, 'after this': used, as often, to recall the hearer to some present proposal which is discredited by contrasting it with past events. § 101.

τρόπον τινά. 'When it was Athens herself that was indirectly in discussion.'

νὴ Δία used, as in *ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία*, to state another person's point of view, with a touch of irony. Cf. § 117. 'You will say perhaps it was my duty to advise her to bear malice against those whose one desire was to save their lives and to hunt for pretexts to justify us in surrendering all to Philip.'

καὶ τίς, *κ.τ.λ.* *Καί*, like *καίτοι*, introduces an indignant question; 'I ask you, who would not have been justified in putting me to death?'

ὑπαρχόντων. See Index.

λόγῳ . . . τό γε ἔργον, 'if I had attempted merely to speak to the dishonour of the noble traditions of our city: as to carrying out such proposals, you would never have done it.'

ἠβούλεσθε. The Attic form.

οὗτοι. Aeschines and his party.

τούτων ἐξῆς, 'immediately after this.' In 341, when Philip was threatening Byzantium, Demosthenes made his speech on the Chersonese. The next year he held the post of *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*, and he now proceeds to justify his action in this office. § 102.

καταλυόμενον, 'falling into decay, falling to pieces.'

ἀπό, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'at the cost of small expenditure.' For this use of *ἀπό* cf. Ar. Plut. 377—

> *ὦ τᾶν, ἐγώ τοι τοῦτ' ἀπὸ σμικροῦ πάνυ*
> *ἐθέλω διαπρᾶξαι πρὶν πυθέσθαι τὴν πόλιν.*

τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας. Most editors omit *τὰ ὄντα*, which is due to an addition in an old hand in S.

ἔθηκα νόμον, *κ.τ.λ.* The law of Demosthenes made contribution to the trierarchy proportionate to property. The institution had gone through several stages.

(1) One trierarch to each trireme.

(2) Two trierarchs to a trireme (first mentioned in 411 B.C. Lys. 32. 24): the failure of this system was shown by the necessity for volunteer trierarchs in 358.

(3) The company-system (on the analogy of the *εἰσφορά*): by which

the members of the twenty companies (*συμμορίαι*) into which the 1200 liable to this service were divided, were arranged by the *ἐπιμεληταί* with the help of the strategi into groups (*συντέλειαι*), each group furnishing a trireme. Under this system the richest members of the companies, *οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν συμμοριῶν*, paid the money in the first instance and then collected it from the poorer members. For the shortcomings of the system see the speeches in Polycl. (50) circ. 358, on the trierarchic crown (51) circ. 359, against Euergus (47), circ. 353. The relief Demosthenes' law afforded was twofold: (1) it made the rich contribute in proportion to their property, and so lightened the contribution of the poor; (2) it prevented the rich from controlling the whole arrangement of the trierarchy, and paying their own contribution out of the poorer men's pockets. It does not appear from this speech or elsewhere how long this arrangement lasted. (See Müller, *Handbuch Gr. Alt.* i. § 234.)

καθ' ὧν μέν. Cf. § 105 *καθ' ὅ*.

§ 103. **γραφείς**, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'being indicted on this charge.' Passive of *γράφεσθαι*. The words *τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς* are cut out by Cobet as superfluous, but *τοῦτον* distinctly helps the sense.

τὸ μέρος, 'the part required,' i. e. one-fifth. A prosecutor in a public action failing to obtain one-fifth of the votes of the dicasts was fined 1000 drachmae.

τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, *κ.τ.λ.* Later on in the speech, § 312, Demosthenes accuses Aeschines of having been bribed by the 'leaders of the companies' to spoil his law reforming the trierarchy. Here he represents them as trying to induce him by offers of large sums either (1) not to propose his law at all, or (2) to let it drop after bringing it forward. But the technical terms are not quite clear. The exact interpretation of the passage depends on the meaning given to *καταβάλλειν* and *ὑπωμοσία* respectively. (1) With the present participle *καταβάλλοντ'* the reading of S and L, the word must be taken closely with *ἐᾶν* in the sense of 'letting fall.' The reading in the text *καταβαλόντα* has been taken in the sense of 'after registering it,' cf. § 55, but this is a very doubtful meaning, and it is best to take it with *ἐᾶν*. (2) *ὑπωμοσία* is generally agreed to mean an affidavit of an obstructive kind: and here it seems to refer to the sworn statement by the opponent of a proposal of law that he intends to bring a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against it. Such an affidavit would stay the operation of the law until the legality of it had been tried. We are to suppose the 'leaders of the Symmories' trying to induce Demosthenes not to proceed with his law when opposition was offered to it. But there is no exact parallel for the phrase *ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ*.

Dinarchus contra Demosth. p. 33, § 42 accuses Demosthenes of

making various changes in the law for three talents: but his statement is not generally accepted.

τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους. A phrase not used elsewhere, seems to refer to rich members of the companies of less wealth than the *ἡγεμόνες*.

συνεκκαίδεκα, 'in groups of sixteen.' It is not clear how this § 104.
number is to be adjusted to sixty, the number of each company; but the orator naturally states the extreme case to heighten the contrast with his own law. Probably five, or six or seven was a more usual number. (Cf. Hyperid. in Harpocration *συμμορία*.)

μικρὰ καὶ οὐδέν. Cf. Plat. Apol. 23 A *ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὀλίγου τινὸς ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδενός.*

τιθέναι, 'to pay.' Cf. Demosth. contr. Androt. § 44 *τοὺς ἐκόντας τιθέντας* opposed to *τοὺς ἐλλείποντας*. Some word like *ἔδει* must be supplied by contrast from *ἦν* in the preceding clause. Cf. Soph. O. T. 817 *ᾧ μὴ ξένων ἔξεστι μηδ' ἀστῶν τινα δόμοις δέχεσθαι . . . ὠθεῖν δ' ἀπ' οἴκων.*

τὸ γιγνόμενον, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'the amount that was proportionate to his property,' 'what comes out proportionate.' *γίγνεσθαι* is often used of a numerical result.

ἐφάνη expresses the sudden transition from the old order to the new; 'came out as (blossomed into) trierarch of two triremes.'

συντελής, *κ.τ.λ.*, the man who contributed one-sixteenth to a trireme.

τὸ ψήφισμα was taken (1) by Dissen to refer to the decree by § 105.
which Demosthenes had got his proposal accepted; but it is better to take it (2) with Westermann and Blass, of the decree ordaining the trial of the indictment brought against Demosthenes' proposal.

καθ' ὅ, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'in virtue of which I entered into court to meet the indictment.' Cf. § 103 *εἰσῆλθον τὸν ἀγῶνα.*

τοὺς καταλόγους are the lists of the possible trierarchs, with their liabilities. 'Service-rolls' (Kennedy).

Decree. Instead of a decree, we find a narrative which is inconsistent with the process of Athenian legislation, Lept. 94. The archon Polycles, and the accuser Patrocles are unknown.

εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικόν is one of the phrases which shows that the document is not genuine. It has been explained as (1) the office of the trierarchy, but there was no such office; (2) the naval service, cf. *τὸ θητικόν*, &c. The simplest solution is to omit *εἰς τό*.

ἐπεχειροτόνησεν cannot be used of the Boulè.

ἀπήνεγκε, sc. *γραφήν*, cf. 54 supra. For *ἀπό* cf. *ἀπογράφειν*.

τὸ μέρος, 'the fifth part.' The penalty is here put at 500 dr. instead of the normal 1000.

καλόν, 'ironical.' Herwerden, with some lack of humour, emends § 106.
into *παλαιόν*.

Old service-roll.

λόχοις seems to be used here for *συμμορίαις*.

New service-roll.

οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν seems used as an equivalent for *τίμημα*, rateable property.

ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα. Probably, as Dissen takes it, 'from ten talents upwards,' and not as Kennedy translates, 'taking ten talents to a trireme,' although no doubt that suits the facts equally well.

ἕως τριῶν πλοίων. Inconsistent with § 104 *δυοῖν ἐφαν τριήραρχος.*

ὑπηρετικοῦ. A small boat in attendance on a man-of-war.

§ 107. **μικρὰ . . . μικρά.** For the emphatic repetition cf. § 100 *καλὸν μὲν . . . πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον.*

τοῦ μὴ . . . ποιεῖν. The genitive is to be regarded as one of cause or of purpose. 'To save themselves from doing their duty.'

καθυφεῖναι, 'to compromise a cause or an action.' Cf. in Mid. 30 *καθυφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα.*

πεῖραν . . . δεδωκέναι. 'I pride myself on having given you practical proof of it.' The orator identifies himself with his law cf. Timocr. § 24 *οἱ νόμοι . . . πεῖραν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεδώκασιν ὅτι συμφέροντες ὑμῖν εἰσιν.*

ἱκετηρίαν. A trierarch who had any grievance could appeal to the people by depositing a suppliant branch on the altar of the Pnyx. This was generally done at the second ecclesia of a prytany. For the phrase cf. Aesch. Fals. Leg. § 15; Ath. Pol. 43. 6.

ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ, refers to supplication at the altar of Artemis Munychia in the port of that name. Cf. Lysias, 13. § 24 *ὁ δὲ Ἀγοράτος καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταὶ καθέζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Μουνυχίασιν.*

τῶν ἀποστολέων. A board of ten, whose business it was to see that triremes went out properly equipped; they might imprison a dilatory trierarch.

καταληφθεῖσα, 'seized by the enemy.' The MSS., as often, vary between *η* and *ει* here, but the better MSS. have *καταλειφθεῖσα*, which would refer to a trireme left behind because of its slowness or unseaworthiness. But the word may have been assimilated to *ἀπελείφθη* in the next line.

§ 108. **τὸ δ' αἴτιον,** sc. *ἦν,* 'and the reason was this'; for the asyndeton cf. infra, § 123 *καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· ἐγώ, κ.τ.λ.* Chers. § 32 *αἴτιον δὲ τούτων· παρεσκευάκασιν, κ.τ.λ.*

πολλὰ δή. *δή* draws the conclusion, as *οὖν* does in the next sentence.

τὰ ἀδύνατα, 'cases of incapacity,' or 'preventing circumstances.' Cf. § 38 *ἐὰν μή τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτόν.*

βάσκανον, κ.τ.λ., 'no act of mine showed envy, rancour or malice.'

§ 109. **τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς.** Used, as often, for foreign as opposed to domestic policy. Cf. § 59 and Ol. 3. § 25 *ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθε ὁποῖοι.*

§ 110. In this section he begins to deal with the strictly legal points: (1) the bestowal of the crown while he was still liable to audit; (2) the proclamation in the theatre.

τὸ γάρ, 'the statement that.' Cf. § 59.

τὰ μέγιστά γε refers to the policy and preparations preceding the final struggle at Chaeronea: these are dealt with later, § 172 foll.

πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων. Cf. § 45 *ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν.*

αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου. 'The actual breach of law' (apart from more general considerations).

ὁμοίως, 'all the same.'

τὸ συνειδός. This use of the neuter participle as a substantive is Thucydidean. 'I can count upon the support of each man's conscience.'

§ 111. **ἄνω καὶ κάτω.** Frequently used of chaos or confusion. Cf. Plato, Theaet. 153 D *γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον ἄνω κάτω πάντα.*

διακυκῶν. A stronger form of *κυκάω*, which is common in the poets in the metaphorical as well as the literal sense. For the transition cf. the simile in Ar. Eq. 866, where Cleon is compared to an eel-catcher 'fishing in troubled waters':

ἐὰν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν
αἱροῦσι· καὶ σὺ λαμβάνεις ἢν τὴν πόλιν ταράττῃς.

Here 'the confused jumble of arguments.'

παραγεγραμμένων. Any one attacking a law or decree as illegal posted up the law supposed to be violated side by side with the new decree for comparison, cf. Aristocr. § 63 *οὐ τοίνυν τούτους μόνον τοὺς νόμους παραβέβηκεν . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς οὓς οὐ παραγεγράμμεθα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.* The word is used conversely in Lept. § 98 for a new law proposed to take the place of the one indicted as unconstitutional. In both cases the idea in *παρά* is 'alternative' or 'comparison.'

τὴν ὀρθήν, 'straightforwardly.' For the feminine cf. such phrases as *τὴν ταχίστην.*

τοσούτῳ, dat. of difference. This has the authority of S, but many editors prefer *τοσούτου,* genitive after *δέω.*

διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο. Cf. § 40 *δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται.* 'As Aeschines falsely assured you.'

διαχειρίζειν is used of administering the affairs or moneys of a state. Cf. Aesch. adv. Ctes. §§ 27, 29. *πολιτεύεσθαι* is more general.

§ 112. This argument is met by Aeschines, §§ 17-23, insisting that public office, even the slightest, always implies liability to audit, and that Demosthenes' private gifts (which by the way he suggests are given out of the city's money) do not affect the question.

φιλόδωρον, 'munificent.'

εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας. An adaptation of the technical phrase *εἰς τοὺς*

λογιστὰς ἄγειν, 'bring him before a board (tribunal of malicious persons.' The main idea in συκοφάντης, whatever its origin, is that of malicious or mercenary accusation (cf. Latin *calumnia*, and so of self-seeking action generally; cf. § 189 σύμβουλος and συκοφάντης, the true and false statesman.

ἐφιστάναι, 'put in control of'; cf. F. L. 34 τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασι τούτοις.

κἀγὼ στέρξω, 'and I will be content' (say nothing). καί introduces the apodosis, the imperative δειξάτω being a virtual protasis. Cf. F. L. 32 εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος δειξάτω κἀγὼ καταβαίνω.

§ 113. ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, 'manager of the Theoric fund.' The 'Theoric money' (διωβελία) was introduced by Cleophon and afterwards distributed at all the more important festivals to enable the poorer citizens to celebrate them with a better meal than usual. Finally during the period of Eubulus' influence all the surplus revenues of the state were swallowed up in the Theoricon. Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, pp. 342, 343. See Aristot. Ath. Pol. 28. The διωβελία, if this refers to the Theoricon, is first mentioned in 410, C. I. A. 1. 188.

ὤν: the predicate is in the participle. 'I was manager of the Theoric fund when I contributed.'

ἐπῄνεσεν. Demosthenes avoids using the word στεφανοῦν, which would have expressed the actual fact, and uses a much milder word, which need not mean more than a vote of thanks.

τειχοποιός. The repair of the city walls was divided among the Tribes, each of which elected commissioners, τειχοποιοί, to supervise the execution of their part of the work (Müller).

οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην, 'did not put it in my accounts.'

§ 114. ἤθεσιν, 'a principle established not only in your laws, but in your character.' This is the reading of all the MSS., and there is no reason to change it, as some editors do, to ἔθεσιν, 'habits.' The two are combined in Plato, Legg. 968 D τρόπων ἤθεσι καὶ ἔθεσι. For ἦθος cf. Lept. 11 οὐδ' ἐστὶν ὅλως ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ ἤθους τοῦ ὑμετέρου κύριον ποιῆσαι τοιοῦτον νόμον.

Nausicles commanded the famous expedition to Thermopylae in 352. στρατηγῶν, the emphasis is on the participle, 'while general.'

Diotimus, mentioned in Mid. § 208 among rich supporters of Midias. In 338 he had a naval command, and perhaps that was the occasion of his gift (A. Schaefer, ii. p. 309). His surrender was demanded with that of other patriots by Alexander. In 334 public honours were voted him. Charidemus (see A. Schaefer, i. 379 foll. iii. 127 foll.). Dissen distinguishes him from Charidemus of Oreus, but it is much more probable that it is this great Condottiere of the age who is referred to. His character and career are described in Demosth. adv. Aristocr., and

his tragic end at the hands of Darius in Diodorus, xvii. 30, where he is called *Ἀθηναῖος, ἀνὴρ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δεινότητι στρατηγίας*. He had received the Athenian citizenship many years before; cf. Aristocr. § 145 *πολίτης γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος*.

ἐστεφανοῦντο, impft., 'crowns were proposed for them.'

οὗτος, marks him out as a well-known person; cf. Aristocr. 212 *Μεγαρέας τουτουσί*. Neoptolemus is mentioned as a rich man in Mid. § 215, and received honours on the proposal of Lycurgus (Vit. decem Orator. p. 843).

ἐπιστάτης, 'superintendent.' There were many kinds of *ἐπιστάται* at Athens. Here the reference is to *ἐπιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων*, appointed by the people to superintend the execution of public buildings and manage the money spent on them (Müller, *Handbuch*, i. § 188).

σχέτλιον, 'it would be hard.'

εὐθύνας ὑφέξει, cf. *ὑπέχειν δίκην, λόγον*.

τούτοις, 'in their favour'; cf. § 118 *τὸ γραφέν μοι*. § 115.

αὐτά, 'themselves,' the actual words; a general description of them has been given.

Decree for Nausicles. This document has signs of being not genuine: (1) the archon's name in the nominative; (2) the addition of the deme; (3) the use of *ὅτι δοκεῖ* instead of *ὅτι ἔδοξε* or *δεδόχθαι*; (4) the doubtful phrases *τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων* and *τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*.

Ναυσικλέα: no father or deme is given.

τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων. See § 38 and note.

τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν, *κ.τ.λ.*, refers to Athenian cleruchs in Imbros.

τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως. In the document in § 38 *ὁ στρατηγός* is added. It is doubtful whether such an office existed. In any case neither passage can refer to the officer generally called *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*, as he is not mentioned in the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, and probably came into existence about 306. He controlled both the income and expenditure of the state. Isolated uses of the phrase before this date probably refer to extraordinary commissioners appointed on special occasions. Cf. Aesch. F. L. 149 (of his brother Aphobetus) *καλῶς δὲ καὶ δικαίως τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων ἐπιμεληθείς, ὅτε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν διοίκησιν εἵλεσθε*.

Διονυσίοις, *κ.τ.λ.*, cf. § 54.

Decree for Charidemus and Diotimus. This decree is probably not genuine. (1) We should expect separate decrees for the two men. (2) It contains several unusual phrases. (3) No father or deme is given for either Charidemus or Diotimus. § 116.

πρυτάνεων λεγόντων. Dissen, 'the prytanes bringing the question before the people'; but the phrase is obscure.

τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ. In § 216 this phrase refers to a battle on the borders of Phocis near the Cephisus; here it may refer to a battle in Salamis, but is probably simply borrowed from § 216.

τοὺς νεανίσκους would refer to the new levies raised to fill the gaps; but the phrase is unusual.

Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα were in the third year of each Olympiad in Hecatombaeon, and lasted four to six days.

θεσμοθέτας. The six junior archons, who sat as a college together; their chief work was judicial.

πρυτάνεις, the committee of the Boulè.

ἀγωνοθέτας, cf. § 84. The earliest mention of these officers that bears a date is in Ol. 121. 4 (= 293 B.C.), see C. I. A. ii. 302. Officers of the same name are found at Erythrae, Ilion, &c. The only instance quoted by L. and S. except this is from Andocides, 32. 31, referring to Elis. Dittenberger, 143. 40 (= C. I. A. ii. 314) accepts Köhler's conjecture that this institution dates from Demetrius Phalereus (318-307).

§ 117. ἧς attracted for ἥν.

ἐφ' οἷς, sc. τούτων.

δήπου, 'after all,' 'I suppose you must admit.'

ἐπέδωκα, κ.τ.λ., for question and answer cf. §§ 198. 274. Dissen in all cases prints the first clause as a statement, not as a question, regarding it as a compressed protasis (cf. Aesch. in Ctes. § 246).

ἐκείνων, sc. ὧν ἦρχον.

νὴ Δί' ἀλλ', states an objection; cf. § 101.

εἶτα here, as often, marks a contrast between a man's actual conduct, and what might have been expected. See Index.

εἰσῆγον, 'brought me into court.'

οἱ λογισταί were a board of 10, appointed by lot. Their duty was to examine the accounts of all officials on their laying down office, and to present the officials before a δικαστήριον of 501 for condemnation or discharge; cf. De F. L. 211, &c. (Müller, i. 225).

§ 118. τὸ γραφέν μοι. Dat.; cf. § 115.

τοῦ προβουλεύματος. Partitive genitive after οἷς (= ἐκείνοις ἃ), 'by those parts of the decree which he did not indict, he will be shown to be malicious in the charge which he does bring.'

Decree of Ctesiphon. This is condemned by (1) wrong dates, (2) it does not correspond with Aeschines' speech, § 236, (3) the language is doubtful.

Εὐθυκλέους. The archon for the year of the decree and the indictment (Ol. 110. 4) was Phrynichus.

θεωρικοῖς, the reading of all MSS. There is no authority for

taking this masc., 'the receivers of the Theoric fund,' and it is probably neuter, 'the Theoric contributions of all the tribes'; but many editors accept the emendation *θεωροῖς*, 'deputies.'

ἀγωνοθέτην. See above, § 116.

τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν. Dionys. Hal. De Comp. Verb., p. 45 R, calls attention to the order of the words in this sentence, and points out how it would lose its force if the verb and not the object were put first in each clause. § 119.

ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος, *κ.τ.λ.*; for the structure of the sentence cf. adv. Aristogit. I. (25) § 82 *ὁ δὲ δὴ παμπόνηρος ποῖός τις . . καλοῖτ' ἂν δικαίως; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος*; 'if we were called on to describe the ideal villain, the enemy of the gods, malicious through and through, would it not be such an one as this?'

ὁ τοιοῦτος, 'a man of this class'; hence the article.

πολλάκις, two such proposals are known, cf. § 83, note 2. § 120.

ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι. Vulgo *δύνασθαι*, following F, but *ὥστε οὐ* is hardly ever found with the infinitive, unless this is due to oratio obliqua, actual or virtual, as in § 283. See Goodwin, *M. and T.* 594, 597.

Law. This is condemned by the word *στεφανοῖ*: see below.

στεφανοῖ; if this were the right reading of the law, Ctesiphon's position, as Weil points out, was unassailable; but the following words, § 121 as well as those of Aesch. in Ctes. 35–48, demand *ψηφίσηται*, or some such word. Aeschines says that the law forbids proclamation of crowns voted by a tribe, or deme, or by a foreign city, unless sanctioned by a vote of the people, and that it has nothing to do with this case.

ἀναγορευέτω, sc. *ὁ κῆρυξ.* § 121.

ἐλλεβορίζεις, 'take a dose of hellebore for this,' to cure your madness.

φθόνου δίκην, 'an accusation based on envy, and not on any act of wrong.'

εἰσάγων. S and L read *εἰσάγειν*, but the participle is more emphatic, 'garbling some laws and mutilating others.'

νόμους, sc. *τοὺς μέν*: for the omission of the first member cf. F. L. § 180 *καὶ ὅσοι διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολώλασι παρ' ὑμῖν, οἱ δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλ' ὠφλήκασιν.*

τοῖς ὀμωμοκόσιν: for the dicast's oath cf. F. L. § 179. For **γε** cf. § 125 infr.

ψηφιεῖσθαι. Most editors print as a question: Voemel and Bekker as an assertion.

τῷ δημοτικῷ, 'the friend of the people.' Aesch. § 168, &c., enumerates the five qualities necessary to the popular statesman, and Demosthenes ridicules him for his narrow and pedantic conception of the character. § 122.

ὥσπερ is used first with a participle agreeing with the subject of the sentence, and then with an 'accusative absolute'; for the latter cf. § 276.

ἐκδεδωκώς, used like Latin *locare*, of letting out a contract for the making of something 'as though you had arranged by contract for the construction of a statue, and then had it returned to you, wanting in the points required by the contract, or as though the people's friends were known by definitions instead of by acts and political measures.'

λόγῳ. This is the ordinary rhetorical opposition between λόγῳ and ἔργῳ: but here the antithesis is between the description of a man and his acts, rather than between a man's words and his acts. Aeschines in § 176 is just as anxious to base his argument on conduct; *θεωρεῖτε αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον.*

ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα. Cf. in Mid. § 79 and Virg. Aen. 9. 595 'digna atque indigna relatu Vociferans': 'you clamour in phrases fit and unfit to utter, like a reveller on a waggon at the Feast, phrases which apply to you and your tribe, but not me.' We might perhaps say 'using all phrases, possible and impossible.'

ἐξ ἁμάξης: cf. § 11 *πομπείας*, § 124 *πομπεύειν*. The ribald jesting 'from the waggon' belongs originally to the second day of the Anthesteria (called Χύες), when the new wine was drunk and a procession was formed to fetch the image of Dionysus back to the Lenaeum from a temple of the Outer Cerameicus, whither it was taken the day before. 'The cortège was full of masks, and of women who represented Nymphs and Bacchae, and rode in waggons' (Gardner and Jevons, p. 292).

§ 123. **καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο**, 'once more there is this further point.' It is not necessary to supply *σκοπεῖτε* or *ἐνθυμηθητέον* as some editors do. Similar short sentences are found elsewhere, F. L. 314 *καὶ γὰρ αὖ τοῦτο*, cf. supra, § 108 *τὸ δ' αἴτιον*. Phil. 1. 12. For *καίτοι* cf. § 180, note.

λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας: for a similar distinction of language cf. Thuc. 1. 69 *αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἁμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἐλθρῶν ἀδικησάντων*. Cf. Cic pro Caelio, 3. 6 'sed aliud est maledicere, aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet; maledictio autem nihil habet propositi praeter contumeliam.'

ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, κ.τ.λ., 'abuse one another with vile scandals drawn from our private life.' Two constructions are combined *κακῶς λέγειν τινά* and *τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγειν τινά*. It is unnecessary to suppose with Herwerden that *κακῶς* is a gloss. There is a variant *κακῶν*, but this use of *κακῶν* can hardly be justified; *τὰ ἀπόρρητα* = lit. language forbidden by law: hence scandalous language generally.

ἐάν τις, 'any one who.' This construction is not so common as that of *si quis* in Latin.

πομπεύειν: cf. § 11 *πομπείας*, and § 122. § 124.

οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα, 'even in this field, that of ribaldry.'

ἔλαττον ἔχων: used commonly of being defeated. Cf. Thuc. 1. 105 *ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ*: here applied sarcastically to one who 'gets less than he gives.' 'Nevertheless, even in this rivalry of words, he does not deserve to go away with less than he brings' (without getting as good as he gives).

ἤδη, 'at once'; cf. § 248.

ὑπὲρ τούτων: probably masculine, 'on behalf of these judges' (that is, of Athens), and not neuter, 'for these offences.'

ἀθῷος: applied to any one who receives immunity or who gets off § 125.
scot-free. 'But where I am secure from attack in every point, the lapse of time and the statutable days, the fact that I have often been brought to trial for every charge and have never once been convicted of doing you wrong, and where the city is bound to share more or less in the credit for what after all were public acts, is this the ground you have chosen to meet me on? Take care that while you profess to be my enemy, you are not really the enemy of these Athenians.'

τῇ προθεσμίᾳ defines **τῷ χρόνῳ**. It was the fixed day after which, by the statute of limitations, an action could not have effect on a defendant. In the case of a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, the limit was a year.

τῷ κεκρίσθαι . . . πολλάκις. Cf. §§ 222, 310.

τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ, *κ.τ.λ.* *γε*, as in § 121 *τοῖς γε ὀμωμοκόσι*, indicates that the reason is given in the participial phrase.

ἀπήντηκας: cf. § 15. Demosthenes has been addressing the judges, cf. *ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν*, but he suddenly turns and addresses Aeschines.

ὅρα μή, *κ.τ.λ.* The emphatic predicate is to be found in the *μέν* clause: in English the *δέ* clause must be expressed by a subordinate clause.

Dissen points out that at this section begins the less technical and § 126.
more personal part of the speech, the object of which is to bring out in the strongest possible contrast the personality and the conduct, public and private, of the two characters. This is done with the freedom and coarseness of invective which was common in Greek and Roman oratory. On this topic see Professor Jebb's *Attic Orators*, p. cv.

ἐπειδή, *κ.τ.λ.* There is no apodosis to this sentence. Hermogenes quotes it as an illustration of the effect that may be produced by the 'anacolutha' of an orator, which appear due to real passion.

ἡ εὐσεβής, *κ.τ.λ.* Cf. §§. 1, 2.

αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα, 'the very barest account of him.' *ἀναγκαῖος* often bears this meaning of 'indispensable,' and so 'least possible.' Cf. Thuc. 1. 2 *ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς*.

καὶ τίνων. For the genitive cf. Xen. Anab. 3. 2. 13 *τοιούτων μέν ἐστε προγόνων.* There is no need for Markland's conjecture *ἐκ τίνων.*

ῥᾳδίως οὕτως, 'thus lightly.' Dissen points out that where *οὕτω* follows the adjective or adverb it qualifies, the chief emphasis is on the adjective or adverb and not on *οὕτω.* Cf. Soph. Phil. 487 *μή μ' ἀφῇς ἔρημον οὕτω.*

τίνας. This gives a better sense than the *τινάς* of the MSS. (S has *τινας*) which Dissen and other editors accept. The meaning is 'and what those expressions (of mine are which he scoffs at.' For Aeschines' words see adv. Ctes. §§ 72, 166.

διασύρει. Cf. § 27, note.

μετρίων, 'decent people.' Cf. § 10.

§ 127. Aeacus or Rhadamanthus or Minos. Cf. Plato, Apol. 41 *εἰ γάρ τις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἅιδου, ἀπαλλαγεὶς τούτων τῶν φασκόντων δικαστῶν εἶναι, εὑρήσει τοὺς ἀληθῶς δικαστάς, οἵπερ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν,* **Μίνως τε καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυς καὶ Αἰακὸς καὶ Τριπτόλεμος, κ.τ.λ.**

σπερμολόγος according to Harpocration is originally a small bird of the jackdaw kind, so called from picking up seeds; and hence applied to a worthless person who lives on other people's food (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων διαζῶν*): but here and in Acts xvii. 18 the meaning seems to be 'babbler' or 'scandal-monger,' one who picks up rags, odds and ends and scraps of gossip.

περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς. Cf. Ar. Nub. 446 *περίτριμμα δικῶν*; the word expresses familiar acquaintance with a place or profession. Cf. *τρίβων, ἐπίτριπτος*: 'a hack of the Agora.' The 'agora' is mentioned as the place of public business, where the offices frequented by a clerk would be.

ὄλεθρος, 'a plague or pest,' often applied to persons. Cf. Phil. 3. 31 *ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος.*

γραμματεύς. Aeschines had begun life as one of the many minor clerks attending on magistrates. Cf. § 261 and F. L. § 249, &c.

πορίσασθαι, 'would have produced,' 'got together.'

ἐπαχθεῖς, 'offensive,' 'out of taste.' Cf. Ar. Ran. 940 where *ῥήματα ἐπαχθῆ* is applied to Aeschylus' 'pompous' language.

ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ. These allusions to Aeschines' career as an actor are frequent both in this speech and that on the Embassy.

ὦ γῆ, κ.τ.λ. Aesch. adv. Ctes. § 260 *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ᾗ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα.* Aeschines in other places too prides himself on his education, cf. in Timarch. § 141 *ἴν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἤδη τι ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐμάθομεν,* in Ctes. § 135.

δήπουθεν, 'no doubt.' *δήπου* is often used in phrases of reminder, *ἴστε γὰρ δήπου, μέμνησθε γὰρ δήπου.*

κάθαρμα. Properly the offscouring or refuse of a sacrifice: and so as here applied to a worthless person, 'the scum of the earth.' But the word seems to have been also used in a special sense of a worthless person kept to be sacrificed as a 'scape-goat' in a time of calamity (see L. and S.): but it is unnecessary to introduce this idea here. § 128.

διάγνωσις, 'what power to distinguish between noble and ignoble?' For the verbal noun cf. Thuc. 1. 50 *οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὁποῖοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο.*

ἧς . . . τετυχηκότων, 'when no one of those who have really enjoyed it would ever speak in this way of himself—nay, he would blush even to hear another so speak of him, while those who though they have missed it as you have, are led by sheer want of tact to claim it, achieve but this result when they speak, that they cause annoyance to their hearers, without winning the reputation they desire.'

ὥσπερ σύ. Assimilation of cases is more common. West. quotes Isocr. 16. 47 *τοῖς δ' ἀπόρως ὥσπερ ἐγὼ διακειμένοις.*

ἀναισθησία. Cf. supra, 43 *ἀναίσθητος.* 'Want of perception' and so 'want of tact.'

περίεστιν. Used of a final result. Cf. Ol. 2. 29 *περίεστι τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζειν καὶ διεστάναι . . . τὰ κοινὰ δ' ἔχειν φαύλως.* Where, as here, there is a note of sarcasm: 'and what do you gain in the end? internal division and ruin to the state.'

μνησθῶ. Deliberative subjunctive, depending on *ἀπορῶ.* § 129.

ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου, κ.τ.λ. Weil points out that in this speech the father and mother of Aeschines both fall into a lower class than Demosthenes gives them in his speech on the Embassy (§§ 199, 249), where the father appears as a schoolmaster instead of a schoolmaster's slave, and his mother is no worse than a humble priestess. Demosthenes is taking his revenge for Aeschines' attack upon him in his speech against Ctesiphon.

πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ. 'Near the temple of Theseus.'

μεθημερινοῖς, 'celebrating marriages in the open day.' Dissen translates, 'de die in fornice prostans.' But it may merely refer to the celebration of marriage-rites by an irregular priestess at irregular hours (day instead of evening). Wolf's conjecture *καθημερινοῖς,* 'daily,' is unnecessary, but is followed by some editors, on the ground that *μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις* is not discreditable enough.

πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι. Cf. F. L. § 249 *πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἥρω τοῦ Ἰατροῦ.* In both passages some editors read Ἥρῳ, relying on Photius Ἥρως Ἰατρός, οὗ μέμνηται Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ στεφάνου: but it is better to retain *ἥρῳ,* and understand it of the 'hero physician', Aristomachus, whose cult came from Marathon to Athens. (See Roscher, Lexikon 2483). He may be called Καλαμίτης here either as (1) 'the man

of splints' or 'the man of the probe,' or as (2) 'the hero of the rushes,' from his chapel being among the rushes. Cf. Athen xiii. p. 572 F *τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτην ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν Καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἕλει.*

τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα. According to an old grammarian this was one of the phrases used by Greek mothers of a favourite child. There is also probably a reference to Aeschines' statuesque style of oratory, referred to by Demosthenes, F. L. 255 *οὐ λέγειν εἴσω τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχοντ' Αἰσχίνη δεῖ, οὔκ, ἀλλὰ πρεσβεύειν εἴσω τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντα.* 'Reared you up, her picture of a boy, to be a perfect third-rate player.'

τριταγωνιστήν. Cf. § 262, &c.

§ 130. **ἀπ' αὐτῶν,** *κ.τ.λ.* Cf. in Mid. § 134 *ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔζης*; ib. § 151 *τοσούτων τοίνυν καὶ τοιούτων ὄντων τῷ βδελυρῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἀναιδεῖ ὧν βεβίωται.*

οὐδὲ γάρ, *κ.τ.λ.* On the whole it seems best to take ἃ *βεβίωκεν*, with Dissen, as the subject of *ἦν*: 'for the acts of his life were no ordinary acts (were not of the class of ordinary acts', but such as the people curse.' *ὧν ἔτυχεν* is attracted from *τούτων ἃ ἔτυχεν*, and equivalent to *τὰ τυχόντα*. Some editors make Aeschines subject of *ἦν*; but the objection to this is that it gives a less satisfactory construction for *ἔτυχεν*, as *ὧν ἔτυχεν* cannot be equivalent to *τῶν τυχόντων* (masc.), which would require *ὧν ἔτυχον*. It seems that the passage early occasioned difficulty as an old variant in S transposes this sentence and the previous one.

καταρᾶται refers to the solemn curse upon traitors pronounced by the herald at the opening of the Assembly. Cf. § 282 and F. L. § 70.

χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῴην. For the phrase cf. Ar. Ran. 726: for *καί* cf. *εἷς καὶ δύο*. *μὲν οὖν* as usual is corrective. 'Do I say late in life? why it was only yesterday or the day before.'

Ἀτρόμητον. Perhaps there is a sarcastic reference to the meaning of the word, 'the fearless.' Anthol. Pal. vi. 256 *Ζεὺς ἀτρόμητος*. For the lengthening of name cf. Lucian, Somn. § 14, where Simon the shoemaker becomes Simonides.

σεμνῶς πάνυ. Often used sarcastically: cf. § 35 and § 133 *σεμνολόγου*. It seems from Aesch. F. L. § 78 that his mother's father was Glaucos, and her name may very likely, as tradition says, have been Glaucis. **Ἔμπουσαν** of course is a mere nickname: it was a hobgoblin spectre of changing form. Cf. Ar. Ran. 288.

ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. For this use of *πάντα* (= *quidvis*) cf. Plat. Apol. 39 A *πᾶν ποιῶν*, and the word *πανοῦργος*. Cf. Hor. Od. 3. 24. 43 'quidvis et facere et pati.' *καὶ πάσχειν* may be an addition, and is bracketed as such by some editors.

ἐκ δούλου. *ἐκ* of transformation. Cf. Phil. 3. 21 *μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ* § 131.
καὶ ταπεινοῦ.

ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς. This is the regular construction with *ἀμφισβητεῖν* in the sense of 'to maintain an opposite view.' 'And I will pass over the occasions where it is possible to argue that he has spoken (for so we are told—*ἄρα*) in the interest of Athens.' There is a double antithesis, *ἀμφισβήτησις* Χ *ἀπεδείχθη* and *εἴρηκεν* Χ *πράττων.*

τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα, 'struck off the list of citizens.' For a descrip- § 132.
tion of the *διαψήφισις*, 'revision of the register' cf. Demosth. 57. § 9 foll. The revision referred to is that of 346 B. C.

καταστήσαντος εἰς. Cf. *εἰς* in 103, 112, &c.

δεινὰ ποιῶ, 'am guilty of monstrous conduct.' Quite different from *δεινὰ ποιοῦμαι,* 'I am indignant at.' Cf. § 273.

ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων, *κ.τ.λ.* For this security of the Athenian's house cf. adv. Androt. 52 *τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ἑκάστῳ δεσμωτήριον καθίστη.*

Plut. Demosth. 14 says that Demosthenes himself brought Antiphon § 133.
before the Areopagus. The Areopagus, if the charge seemed well founded, would send it on to the Senate or the Heliastic Courts (*ἀπόφασις*). Dinarchus contr. Demosth. p. 46. § 63 *ἐστρέβλωσαν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὗτοι τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποφάσει πεισθέντες.*

ἐν οὐ δέοντι, 'unseasonable,' 'inopportune.'

ἐπεζήτησε, 'made a further search.'

διαδύς, 'slipping through, shirking.'

ἐξεπέμπετο. All MSS. Cobet, V. L. p. 253, conj. *ἐξεπέπεμπτο*: and no doubt the impft. is irregular here, as it should mean 'would now be being sent out of the country.' So *ἐξήρπαστο* just above.

σεμνολόγου. Cf. *σεμνῶς* 35 and note.

Schaefer (ii. 347) puts this debate on the possession of the temple § 134.
of Apollo at Delos in 343 B. C. Hyperides pleaded the cause of Athens with success, and fragments of his speech (*λόγος Δηλιακός*) are extant.

ἥσπερ. A second *ἀπό* is not needed, and it is best to omit it, following S.

προείλεσθε is the reading of all MSS. but **προσείλεσθε** (H. Wolf) is more appropriate, 'chose the Areopagus to help you.' It would seem that, after Aeschines' election, Demosthenes, taking advantage of the general dissatisfaction, induced the people to entrust the choice of an advocate to the Areopagus, which then chose Hyperides.

ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ, *κ.τ.λ.* The most solemn form of voting, described in Dem. 43. § 14 *οἱ φράτορες . . . λαβόντες τὴν ψῆφον καιομένων τῶν ἱερείων, ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες* (where the vote is on a question of the register of the Phratry).

ψῆφος ἠνέχθη. As Dissen points out, *ψῆφον φέρειν* is used (1) of the voter giving his vote; (2) of the magistrate putting to the vote.

§ 135. **Deposition.** The grounds for suspecting this document are:
(1) **ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων** and **ποτέ** are vague terms for a formal document.
(2) The names are significant.

συνεδρεύσαντες. The Areopagus is more than once called *συνέδριον* by the orator.

τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν. This is the reading of L, but the construction is very harsh and makes it almost necessary to insert *αὐτόν* or *τοῦτον*, a construction not without parallel. Thuc. 1. 114 *διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ*. Other MSS. have *τούτου λέγοντος*, which is equally harsh. Weil adopts Pauly and Lipsius' emendation *τοῦτον τοῦ λέγειν*, which gives a good construction, and is not a great change of the text.

§ 136. **νεανίου.** Cf. § 313. The idea conveyed by the word is that of the insolence of youth (cf. *νεανιεύομαι*, Mid. 18; *νεανικός*, ib. 131), with a reference also to Aeschines' good looks; cf. § 129 *τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα*. There was no question of youth: Aeschines was born in 389 B. C. and was four years older than Demosthenes. 'Here you have in this one specimen of our fine gentleman's political conduct, confirming my description.' Lord Brougham translates, 'this hero,' 'one gallant instance of his politics.'

οὐ γάρ; Cf. in Mid. § 209 *ταχύ γ' ἂν χαρίσαιντ', οὐ γάρ;*

Python's mission was in 343 B. C. A. Schaefer, ii. p. 350 foll.). He was a Byzantine and a pupil of Isocrates, of considerable eloquence. His speech on this occasion is described in Hegesippus' de Halonneso, §§ 20–23. Schaefer is inclined to identify him with Python of Aenus who, with his brother Heraclides, murdered the Thracian Cotys, and afterwards took refuge in Athens; adv. Aristocr. § 127 *Πύθων οὑτοσί, ὅτε μὲν Κότυν εὐθὺς ἀπεκτονὼς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγεῖτο ἀπελθεῖν ὅποι τύχοι, ἦλθεν ὡς ὑμᾶς καὶ πολιτείαν ἤτησε καὶ πάντων ἐποιήσατο πρώτους ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἴεται τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα συμφέρειν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὑμῶν φρωντίσας τἀκείνου φρονεῖ.*

ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων, 'put to shame.' Ol. 1. 16 *οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους ἐν ὀργῇ ποιεῖσθαι* is not quite parallel. For the use of *ἐν* cf. F. L. 153 *χρημάτων τ' ἐν σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πολιορκίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν.*

πολλῷ ῥέοντι. 'When Pytho bore down on you with a great stream of confident bold rhetoric.' For the construction of *πολύς* with the participle cf. 199 *πολὺς ἔγκειται*; cf. Hor. Od. iv. 2. 7 'fervet immensusque ruit profundo Pindarus ore.' Lucian, Encom. Demosth. 5, compares *ῥέοντα Πύθωνα* with the Homeric *νιφάδας λόγων*.

§ 137. **μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον.** For the redundance cf. § 36 *εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς*

μακράν: Anaxinus of Oreus came to Athens in 340, according to Aeschines, to make purchases for queen Olympias, according to Demosthenes as a spy. Demosthenes secured his arrest and execution. See Aesch. in Ctes. § 223.

μόνος μόνῳ. For the emphatic repetition cf. § 252 *ἄνθρωπος . . . ἀνθρώπῳ.*

ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει, 'was already a born spy.'

Deposition. This document is suspicious. (1) *ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν* is doubtful; Demosthenes would naturally proceed against Anaxinus by *γραφή* or *εἰσαγγελία*, the case would come before the Thesmothetae, not the Strategi. (2 The omission of the deme of the witnesses is irregular. (3) *ἐπὶ Νικίου.* The archon at this time (341–40) was Nicomachus.

συνερχόμενον. *συνιέναι* (cf. § 137, supra) is more commonly used than *συνέρχεσθαι* in the sense of 'conspiring.'

ὧν (= *ἅ*). Attracted by *τούτων* although words intervene. Cf. § 138. adv. Aristocr. § 16 *τούτων ἕνεκ' ἐρρήθη τὸ προβούλευμ' ὧν λέγω. ἅ* is a cognate accusative with the two participles.

ἐπηρεάζων. Cf. supra, § 12.

οὐ τίθεται, 'are not laid up.' *κατατίθεσθαι* is the more usual word.

ὑποσκελίζειν, 'to trip up.' A metaphor from wrestling. See Index (Simile). For this delight of the Athenians in *λοιδορία* cf. Phil. 3. 54 *λοιδορίας φθόνου σκώμματος ἧς τινος ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ' αἰτίας ἀνθρώπους μισθωτοὺς . . . λέγειν κελεύετε.*

ῥᾷον, 'easier,' in the sense of 'more comfortable.' Cf. *χαλεπόν*, 'unpleasant.' Phil. 3. 37 *χαλεπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐλεγχθῆναι.*

ὑπηρετοῦντα: sc. *τινά.* The subject of an infinitive is often omitted in general statements. Cf. Ol. 2. 26.

ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί. A very solemn formula: used again, § 158. § 139.

τὰ πλοῖα. Cf. supra, § 73. **Χερρόνησος.** Cf. § 80.

ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν. It is more natural to refer this to Philip's advance in 339, and seizure of Elatea, cf. § 169, than to refer it, as Dissen does, to Philip's earlier operations in the Hellespont and Aegean at the time of the Byzantine war, which could only very indirectly be described as 'an advance against Attica.'

ἄνθρωπος. A term of contempt frequently applied to Philip by Demosthenes. Cf. Ol. 1. 3. 23 and infra, § 158.

ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ. Cf. Lat. 'in ambiguo esse.' No other instance of this phrase is quoted, but Demosthenes has *ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ* F. L. 152; Euripides *ἐν καλῷ*, Heracl. 971; Sophocles *ἐν καλῷ*, El. 384.

ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος. Cf. § 89 *ἐνστάς.* 'The war had actually come on' (been set on foot).

βάσκανος. Cf. § 119.

ἰαμβειοφάγος is the reading of the second hand in S, and is supported by Hermogenes. It probably means 'mouther of iambics' and refers to Aeschines' profession of actor; cf. § 267. Weil gives it a different shade of meaning, 'nourri de vers iambiques.' One MS. has a variant *ἰαμβοφάγος*, explained by the Etymol. Magn. as 'abusive,' 'scurrilous.'

S has *ἰαμβειογράφος*, which is read by many editors, and interpreted, 'writer of lampoons.' Cf. Aesch. adv. Timarch. § 136 *περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν φασὶν οὗτοί με πεποιηκέναι, τὰ μὲν ὁμολογῶ τὰ δ' ἐξαρνοῦμαι μὴ τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον ὃν οὗτοι διαφθείροντες παρέξονται.*

οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον. Cf. § 125.

Αἰσχίνῃ. A possessive dative.

ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι, 'in the time allotted to me,' the time being measured by the water-clock. The phrase is used in De Fals. Leg. § 57. Andocides uses *ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ* in the same sense, and Demosth. 57. 61 *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὕδατος.*

δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον. 'He is in this dilemma (he must choose between two alternatives): either he had no fault to find then with my conduct of affairs and therefore proposed no new measure beyond mine, or else he made his one object the interest of my enemies, and therefore brought forward no better proposals.' *θάτερον* may be regarded as an adverbial accusative, or as accus. after a more general verb to be supplied from the two verbs which follow. Cf. Isocr. Plat. § 34 *δυοῖν θάτερον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἢ μένοντας ἀποθνήσκειν . . . ἢ φεύγοντας ἀπορεῖν.* As to the order Dissen points out that the central words of the sentence, *δυοῖν θάτερον*, gain in emphasis by being separated.

παρὰ ταῦτα. *παρά* need mean here no more than 'besides,' though some translate 'opposed to.'

§ 140. **οὐδὲ . . . οὐδέ** mark the exact correspondence of the two verbs as *καὶ . . . καί* do in a positive sentence, cf. Phil. 1. 8 *ἅπαντ' ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔνι, ταῦτα κἀν τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι.*

'Are we to suppose then that he did not speak, just as we have seen he did not propose measures, when any mischief had to be done?' The *ἡνίκα . . . κακόν* strictly applies only to the first clause *δέοι.*

μὲν οὖν = immo vero. Cf. § 130: 'on the contrary: no one else could get in a word.'

ἐπεξειργάσατο is taken up by **ἐπέθηκε τέλος,** 'he achieved one final act, which filled up the measure of all his previous performances.' Cf. in Mid. § 18 *δύο ταῦτ' ὥσπερεὶ κεφάλαια ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς ἑαυτῷ νεανιευμένοις ἐπέθηκεν.*

ἀνήλωσε. Cf. § 9.

τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν . . . δόγματα, 'the decrees (of the Amphictyons) about the Locrians of Amphissa.' For the genitive cf.

Thuc. 1. 140 *τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα*, 'the decree about the Megarians.' For the facts cf. Introduction.

τῶν Λοκρῶν are omitted by two MSS. and bracketed by many editors on the ground that when a tribe and a city are named, the former is placed first. Cf. Aesch. in Ctes. § 123 *οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς* and Thuc. 3. 95 *διὰ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν*.

τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτον ἐστί. This adversative use of *τὸ δ'* to mark the contrast between imagination and the real fact is common in Plato. 'Whereas it is not really so' ('the real facts are different'). Plat. Apol. 23 A *οἴονται γάρ με ἑκάστοτε οἱ παρόντες ταῦτα αὐτὸν εἶναι σοφόν, ἃ ἂν ἄλλον ἐξελέγξω· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει ὦ ἄνδρες τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι.*

πόθεν. Cf. § 47.

οὐχ οὕτω, κ.τ.λ., 'no words you can say will do that.'

ἔχουσι, 'protect,' 'hold in their keeping.' Cf. *κατέχειν* in Isocr. § 141. Plat. § 60 *τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων μνησθῆναι τῶν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον κατεχόντων.*

Ἀπόλλω. Demosthenes here identifies the Pythian Apollo with the Apollo Patrous, worshipped by the Ionians, and especially at Athens, as father of Ion.

εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον, 'if I should speak in the future and did speak then.' The future and the past hypothesis are combined in one sentence. Cf. Plat. Apol. 28 E *ἐγὼ οὖν δεινὰ ἂν εἴην εἰργασμένος εἰ, ὅτε μέν με οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔταττον, τότε μὲν ἔμενον, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάττοντος λίποιμι τὴν τάξιν* (Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 509 . Here a third form of hypothesis, pres. ind. *ἐπάγω*, follows.

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 'before the people.' Cf. § 58 *ἐν τούτοις.*

ἐπάγω. Cf. infra, § 143, and elsewhere *δίκην, γραφὴν ἐπάγειν.*

ἐπήραμαι, 'why have I uttered this imprecation?' generally used § 142. with dative of the person on whom the curse is pronounced. For the use with simple accus. cf. Soph. El. 388 *τίν', ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐπηράσω λόγον*; where, however, the word is only a stronger *ἀράομαι.*

διετεινάμην, used of any special effort or exertion: here 'why do I make so solemn a protest?'

ἔχων . . . εἰδώς, the participles have a concessive force.

τῶν εἰργασμένων . . . ἐλάττων, 'unequal to the evil acts he has committed.' Cf. De Fals. Leg. § 29 *δεῖ δὲ μηδένα ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰς τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος βλέψαντα μείζους τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς τούτου δόξης νομίσαι.*

ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη. Refers to the trial on the Embassy, in which Aeschines was acquitted by a majority of thirty votes.

τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον. Amphissa was the chief city of the § 143. Ozolian Locrians, about sixty stades N. W. of Delphi, on the borders of Phocis. The order of words is noticeable: the central fact is put first,

and its results are drawn out in relative clauses, arranged to form a climax, and finally Aeschines is introduced as the sole author of the whole catastrophe.

δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν, *κ.τ.λ.*, the importance of Elatea lay in the fact that it commanded the passes into Phocis and Boeotia, cf. Strabo, ix. C 434. The consternation caused at Athens by Philip's seizure of the place in 338 is graphically described infra, § 169.

The words *τὸν γὰρ . . . Ἐλάτειαν* form a hexameter verse; cf. § 198 *Ἑλλήνων . . . ἀπέκειτο.*

ὃς ἅπαντ', *κ.τ.λ.*, the relative refers to the subject of *ἠρέθη*, the predicate being *ἡγεμών*, 'and the war which caused the appointment as general of the Amphictyons of the man who upset the whole Hellenic world.'

οὗτος, Aeschines.

συγκατασκευάσας. Cf. Ol. 3. 17 *πάντα ἐάσαντες καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες αὐτῷ*, the notion is that of helping to arrange or promote any enterprise.

πάντων εἷς ἀνήρ, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'the sole author of all our greatest disasters.' *Εἷς ἀνήρ* is specially used with superlatives: here *πάντων* heightens the antithesis. Cf. F. L. 64 *τηλικούτων καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων κύριος εἷς ἀνὴρ Φίλιππος γέγονε.*

ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, this assembly was held after Aeschines' return from the Amphictyonic meeting. Aeschines was favourably heard, but Demosthenes succeeded in persuading the Athenians not to send deputies to the next, extraordinary, meeting at Pylae. Cf. Aesch. in Ctes. § 126.

Ἀμφικτυονικόν. Compare Demosthenes' exhortation in 346 against giving occasion for a 'general war' of the Amphictyony. De Pace § 14 *ὁρᾶν ὅπως μὴ προαξόμεθα ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς συνελευθώτας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν εἶναι εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ πρόφασιν κοινοῦ πολέμου πρὸς ὑμᾶς.*

ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι, 'packed supporters.' *παραγγελία* is used, De Fals. Leg. § 1, in the same way for calling in supporters. For the adverbial phrase cf. *ἐκ προρρήσεως*, &c.

αἰτίαν . . . ἐπάγειν. Cf. § 141.

§ 144. **ἡ φύσις**, 'the true nature.'

συνεσκευάσθη, generally used in a bad sense. Cf. § 279, F. L. 76 *πᾶσα ἡ ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας ὀλέθρου.*

ἐκωλύθητε, sc. *ἀκούειν.*

εὖ συντεθέν, 'cleverly contrived'; often used in a bad sense. Cf. Soph. O. T. 401 *ὁ συνθεὶς τάδε.*

ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, 'knowledge of public events.'

δεινότης, cf. § 242. In Aristotle, Ethics vi. 12. 9, *δεινότης* is the

purely intellectual element in *φρόνησις* which discovers the means to an end, but which may be turned to good or bad uses according as men's characters vary: *ἂν μὲν οὖν ὁ σκοπὸς ᾖ καλὸς ἐπαινετή ἐστιν, ἂν δὲ φαῦλος πανουργία.*

Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλούς. Neither Thebes nor Thessaly was friendly to Athens, but neither of them was prepared to give Philip a passage through its country. § 145.

ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς, 'with no fortune or skill.

τῶν ληστῶν, not necessarily limited to the sea, but used of irregular warfare generally. Cf. Phil. 1. 23 *οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῳ παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη.* But in this passage it seems specially to refer to 'privateers,' as the contest points to naval operations.

τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. *ἐκ* (= *ἐν*) is due to *ἐξήγετο.*

αὐτῷ is taken by Weil as dative with *ἐδεῖτο = ἔδει.* Cf. Plato, Meno 79 C *δεῖται σοὶ πάλιν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐρωτήσεως,* but it is better to take the dative with *εἰσήγετο* and make *ἐδεῖτο* personal.

μήτε shows that the participles are conditional; 'unless the Thessalians followed him and unless the Thebans gave him a passage through their country.' **διιέντων,** cf. § 213. § 146.

ὁποιουσδήποτε, contemptuous, 'the generals such as they were (for I will not dwell on that) whom you sent out.' Cf. *ὁπωσδήποτε,* § 261.

αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου, 'he suffered losses from the actual geographical situation and the character of the forces at the disposal of each,' i.e. from the fact that Philip's army could not deal with the naval power of Athens. For the geographical advantages of Athens cf. F. L. 84 *τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ πόλει.*

εἰ . . . συμπείθοι . . . ἐὰν δὲ . . . αἱρεθῇ, the optative is used here of the rejected alternative, the subjunctive of the adopted one; cf. infra, § 148. § 147.

οὐδέν' ἂν . . . προσέξειν is the reading of S. If this is retained, on the authority of the MSS., it must be supported by Thuc. 2. 80 and several other passages where the MSS. give *ἄν* with fut. inf., although Cobet and others correct the text in every case. If the construction is Greek, it will correspond to the use of *ἄν* with fut. ind. in Homer, where, however, *ἄν* with fut. inf. is not found cf. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 208). See Phil. 3. 70. Many editors read *οὐδένα* from one hand in S, or *προσέχειν* from Aug.

κοινάς is equivalent to *Ἀμφικτυονικάς* in § 158. Weil points out that as Thebes was friendly to Amphissa, *ἐκείνων* is not quite correct, and suggests the omission of *τάς,* and the construction of *ἐκείνων* with *ἡγεμών*: but the order is against this, and any cause of war involving

the Amphictyony might be said to be 'common to Thebes and Thessaly.'

τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, 'gain his ends partly by persuasion, and partly by cajolery.'

πόλεμον ποιῆσαι, 'to stir up a war involving the Amphictyons and a disturbance connected with the meeting at Pylae.' For *πόλεμον ποιεῖν* cf. Chers. § 6 *οὓς νῦν αἰτιῶνται πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον*.

τὴν πυλαίαν. The meeting of the Amphictyony was held twice a year, in autumn and in spring. At both times the deputies met first at Pylae and then went on to Delphi (Gilbert, *Gr. Statsalt.* ii. p. 412).

εἰς ταῦτα, 'to deal with these troubles.'

§ 148. **ἱερομνημόνων**. There were two classes of deputies, the Hieromnemones, who represented the twelve *ἔθνη* (two for each), and the Pylagoroi § 149, who are believed to have represented the cities belonging to the tribes. Probably the Hieromnemones were the more formal deputies and had the final voting authority (Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, p. 52; Abbott, *History of Greece*, ii. p. 27).

ἐκείνου, perhaps used to avoid repeating *ἑαυτοῦ*.

§ 149. **φυλάττοντος**, 'watching'; *φυλάττεσθαι* (see § 148), 'to beware of.'

τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβών, 'carrying with him the honour of the city.' Voemel translates 'authority.'

προβληθείς, 'proposed.' Cf. § 285.

τριῶν, *κ.τ.λ.*, the change to the active participle is made to emphasize the scant number of his electors. Cf. Aristoph. Ach. 598, *Lam. ἐχειροτόνησαν γάρ με, Dic. κόκκυγές γε τρεῖς.*

ὅθεν . . . καθιερώθη, 'telling how the territory of Cirrha came to be consecrated.' In the time of Solon, Cirrha, for violation of the Delphic territory, was doomed to destruction, and its land dedicated to the god. See Aesch. in Ctes. 118.

ἀπείρους λόγων, 'unused to rhetoric.'

§ 150. **περιελθεῖν**, 'to make a formal circuit of the territory.' According to C. I. A. ii. 545 (380 B. C.) the Hieromnemones regularly made an inspection of this kind.

οὐδεμίαν δίκην, *κ.τ.λ.*, according to Aeschines the Locrians were proposing to fine the Athenians for dedicating in the temple of Apollo at Delphi some shields 'taken from the Persians and Thebans when fighting against the Hellenes'; and Aeschines' accusation against Amphissa was meant to divert attention from Athens. Demosthenes says that there was no evidence of a summons (*πρόσκλησις*) being issued by the Locrians; but Aeschines might reply that his prompt action prevented the proceedings from reaching this point.

τελέσασθαι. Cf. Dem. 39. 38 *τελέσασθαι τὴν δίκην κατὰ Βοιωτοῦ*, 'to carry an action into effect.'

ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; 'was witness to the summons against us.'

ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; *ἀπό* is read by the best MSS. and must be translated either (1) 'on what ground,' or (2) 'from what authority did the summons issue?' *ἐπί*, the reading of Aug., is simpler, 'before what authority?'

ὡς ἅπαξ, 'when once.'

ἐταράχθη. The verb is more suitable to *πόλεμος* than to *ἐγκλήματα*, § 151. 'accusations and war were stirred up against the Amphisseans.'

Κόττυφος of Pharsalus, Hieromnemon of the Thessalians, and president of the *συνέδριον* (Aesch. in Ctes. § 124).

εἰς τήν, *κ.τ.λ.* *εἰς* marks a limit of time. Cf. De Fals. Leg. § 168 *διεκρούσατο δὲ εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια φήσας ἀποπέμψειν*.

πυλαίαν, meeting of the League. Cf. supra, § 147 note (autumn, 339 B.C.).

ἦγον. Cf. Phil. 3. 57 *οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Φίλιππον*. But here no object is expressed, and the construction is very harsh; *τὴν στρατιάν* must be supplied from above.

κατεσκευασμένοι, 'men among the Thessalians and the inhabitants of other cities who were traitors of long standing and had been secured to support him.' *κατασκεύαζειν* is often used in a bad sense of getting up a charge or suborning a witness, or securing support by corrupt means.

τῶν Θετταλῶν: for the bad name of the Thessalians cf. 43 note.

εἰσφέρειν. Specially used of the war-tax at Athens, here of the § 152. contributions of members of the League generally.

ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας, often used of a contemptuous dismissal of a person or a project. Cf. De Fals. Leg. § 248 *ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ φράσας τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ*, in Mid. § 39 *ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις εἰπὼν καὶ ὑμῖν*. Philip did not occupy Elatea till he had defeated the Locrians (whom the Athenians supported) and destroyed Amphissa.

ὥσπερ χειμάρρους, metaphors and similes drawn from the more § 153. violent operations of nature are not very common in Demosthenes. There is another instance in § 194 *ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτός*. See Index (Simile).

νῦν δέ, 'as it was.'

θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ. Cf. Ol. 2. 1 (opening words) *ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἄν τις ἰδεῖν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δοκεῖ μοι τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν φανερὰν γιγνομένην τῇ πόλει, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι*.

εἶτα, as Dissen points out is = 'under the gods.'

ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλή, 'vile person.' Like *κάρα* in tragedy, *κεφαλή* is used by Homer and Plato in addressing friends, but Demosthenes uses it only for enemies, cf. F. L. 313. *μιαρός* is applied by Aeschines to Demosthenes, Aesch. in Ctes. § 79.

Decrees of Amphictyons. These are to be rejected on § 154. account of difficulties of detail given below.

ἐπὶ ἱερέως, this form of dating does not occur in other decrees.

τοῖς συνέδροις appears to refer to the Hieromnemones; but the word is not so used elsewhere.

τῷ κοινῷ, apparently the *ἐκκλησία* mentioned by Aesch. in Ctes. 124 *ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων· ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ τοὺς χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ* (where perhaps the explanation is a gloss). It is not clear from Aeschines (115 foll.) what was the precise relation of this larger body to the Amphictyonic executive, which consisted of the Hieromnemones only. See above, § 148 note.

ἐπειδή, *κ.τ.λ.* These words do not fit in with the proclamation of the herald given by Aesch. op. cit. 122.

§ 155. **ἐαρινῆς.** The composer of the document ought to have put *μετοπωρινῆς*. At the spring meeting of 339 the first decree against the Locrians was passed. At a special meeting not attended by the Athenians (Aesch. 128) an expedition against Amphissa under Cottyphus was voted. And then at the regular autumn meeting Philip was appointed to command.

τὸν Ἀρκάδα. According to Aeschines he was a Pharsalian. It may be added that no mention is made here of Cottyphus' expedition and its results (Aesch. 129)

ἀξιοῦν ἵνα, a late construction.

διότι = ὅτι. Not found in Demosthenes in this sense except in documents.

καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν, the Pylagori were appointed for a year.

Dates. We should expect two dates, for the two decrees. Instead, we find one date, with the wrong archon's name.

§ 156. **οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ Θηβαῖοι.** The Thebans had been alienated by Philip's occupation of Nicaea and Echinus on the Malian gulf (Schaefer, ii. 504).

πρόφασιν. Cf. Thuc. 1. 23 *τὴν μὲν ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν.*

κοινά. Cf. supra, § 147.

ἀφορμάς, 'occasions'; generally in Demosthenes rather of 'means' or 'resources.' Cf. Ol. 3. 33 and infra, § 233.

§ 157. Letter of Philip. Apart from difficulties of detail, the letter says nothing of the decrees of the Amphictyons or of Philip's appointment as commander.

τοῖς δημιουργοῖς. The name of a magistracy in Elis and Mantinea and some other states of the Peloponnese. Cf. Thuc. 5. 47 *οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλή.*

τοῖς συνέδροις seems to refer to members of the Senate in the aristocratic states.

λεηλατοῦσι. The complaint was not only of plunder, but of tillage of the land.

λῴου. Droysen makes Loos = Hecatombaeon (August) which would not suit the chronology. In any case it is strange that no day is named.

τοῖς δὲ μή, κ.τ.λ., the text is certainly corrupt. The simplest correction perhaps is to omit *τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις*. Weil for **δὲ** *συμβούλοις* conjectures *ἀσυμβόλοις* which he would take as depending on *τοῖς ἐπιζημίοις*: 'we will use against those who do not come to meet us with their full power the penalties we have established for those who do not pay their contribution.'

περιιόντες. Cf. Phil. 1. 10 *ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιιόντες αὐτῶν* § 158.
πυνθάνεσθαι λέγεταί τι καινόν;

ὑφ' ἑνός, sc. *Φιλίππου.*

ἀλιτήριον. In Thuc. 1. 126 *ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ* and § 159.
Ar. Eq. 445 the genitive is used of a god offended; here of a person or thing injured—'the common curse (plague) of all that have been ruined since.' Aeschines in Ctes. § 131 calls Demosthenes *τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε.* In F. L. 197 *τῶν ἀλιτηρίων Ὀλυνθίων* the word is used without any dependent genitive.

μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα, 'without reserve.' Cf. *εὐλαβούμενος,* § 4.

ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα, κ.τ.λ. For the metaphor cf. *φορὰ προδοτῶν* in 61.

οὗτος. For the structure of the sentence cf. Phil. 3. § 18 *τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχάνημα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἱστάντα τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς;*

τῶν φύντων. Some editors read *κακῶν* from L, but it is better omitted.

πλήν, here = 'but.'

συμβέβηκε. The 'accident' by which Demosthenes is led to § 160
speak of his own political achievements is the result of artistic arrangement.

ἃ . . . πεπολίτευμαι. Cf. § 4.

εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν . . . ὑμεῖς δέ. In English the first clause could be made subordinate, 'it is shameful if, when I bore the hard realities of labouring on your behalf, you are not going to endure so much as to hear me speak of them.' For the form of the sentence cf. Ol. 2. 24 *ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζω εἰ Λακεδαιμονίους μέν ποτε . . . ἀντήρατε . . . νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς ἐξιέναι.* For the antithesis cf. Thuc. 1. 22 *τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ* opposed to *τῶν λεχθέντων.*

ἑκατέροις . . . ἀμφοτέροις, 'in each state, Thebes and Athens,' § 161.
'what was to be feared by both alike.'

προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις, 'quarrelling with one another.' Cf. § 254.

παρατηρῶν. More often used with an accusative of the object watched.

§ 162. Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ Εὔβουλον. Cf. § 70, supra, note.

πρᾶξαι, 'to bring about this friendship' (i.e. between Athens and Thebes).

οὗς. The accusative is suited to the participle κολακεύων instead of to the main verb παρηκολούθεις.

κίναδος. The schol. says this is a Sicilian word for a fox, and hence here and in the phrase τοὐπίτριπτον κίναδος, Soph. Aj. 103 and Andoc. Myst. 99, it is generally interpreted of cunning; but it is certainly used sometimes in the more general sense of 'monster,' 'reptile.'

οὐκ αἰσθάνει. This, the reading of S, is more forcible than οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ: moreover the latter is not borne out by Aeschines' speech.

§ 163. τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον. The sentence is arranged as though these words were to be the object of both participles, but then a new object τὴν . . . ἔχθραν is brought in for συμπεραιαμένων, so that the form of the sentence is a chiasmus and the position of μέν irregular.

συνέκρουον, 'embroiled,' 'set at odds with one another.' Cf. § 19.

προεξανέστημεν, 'had we not roused ourselves in time.'

ἀναλαβεῖν, here used intrans. 'to recover.' Cf. Plato, Rep. 467 B ποιῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀδύνατον ἀναλαβεῖν; elsewhere ἀναλαβεῖν αὑτόν. Blass rejects this, and supplies an object. 'recover what we had lost.' Cf. Phil. 1. 7 τὰ κατερραθυμημένα ἀναλήψεσθε.

μέχρι πόρρω. Cf. μέχρι δεῦρο, μέχρι τότε.

τὸ πρᾶγμα. S has τὴν ἔχθραν.

§ 164. Decrees. The preceding words of Demosthenes lead us to expect notes exchanged between Athens and Thebes illustrating the hostility raised between them by Aeschines for Philip. Instead, we find two decrees for missions to Philip, and two letters of Philip, to the Athenians and to the Thebans. For difficulties of detail see below.

Ἡροπύθου, an unknown archon.

βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμῃ, an unknown formula.

ἃς μέν. Cf. 71; this is not found in earlier prose writers, and Cobet, Misc. Crit. 478, rejects it for Demosthenes, reading τὰς μέν.

ἐπιβάλλεται, 'purposes.' Only used here and in § 165 with an infinitive: elsewhere with accus. of the thing taken in hand.

τὴν εἰρήνην. Philip and Athens were at war; cf. § 145 supra. Both decrees misrepresent the situation completely.

ᾑρέθησαν, κ.τ.λ. This does not properly belong to a decree. The names are unknown.

§ 165. πολεμάρχου γνώμῃ. There is no parallel for this special mention of the Archon Polemarchus.

ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος, κ.τ.λ. This is absurd: the decree is later than the preceding one, yet the situation described is less advanced.

τὰς ἀνοχάς. The more common form is *ἀνοκωχή*. Why the article?

ἐνδεχομένως, 'so far as circumstances allow.' Used in later Greek.

καὶ γὰρ νῦν, κ.τ.λ., 'for even as it is the people have decided not to take the field if Philip's conditions are at all moderate' (in the event of any reasonable proposal). The expression is not very clear.

ἠρέθησαν. See above, § 164. The names again are unknown.

Answers. Instead of Answers from Thebes we get a letter of Philip to the Athenians. § 166.

αἵρεσιν = *προαίρεσιν*. Cf. Aeschin. De Fals. Leg. § 11 *ἄρξομαι ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγων καὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῆς πρεσβείας.*

ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς. Superfluous, as since 346 Thebes was recognized as supreme in Boeotia. Cf. F. L. 141.

μὴ βουλομένων. One would expect *οὐ*.

ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς, 'by a *volte-face*.' A military metaphor; lit. 'wheeling round.'

συγκατατίθεμαι, 'agree with.' The fuller expression is *συγκ. δόξαν, ψῆφον.*

παραπέμψαντες. The normal meaning is 'sending on.' Dissen translates, 'cum contemtu transmittentes': but it seems here to be used for 'dismiss,' not a classical use.

ἀτιμίας. An extraordinary demand for Philip to make.

Answer to the Thebans. An answer to an unknown letter, quite out of keeping with the time, when Thebes was gradually drawing near to Athens. § 167.

πᾶσαν προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν, 'are using all means to influence you.' Aeschines accuses Demosthenes of having given up all Boeotia to Thebes.

συγκαταίνους, 'consenting to.' A late word.

τοῖς . . . παρακαλουμένοις. Late Greek for 'demands.'

ἐλπίσι, 'the hopes they held out,' i.e. their promises.

ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ. Cf. *ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχειν*, &c.

ῥοπήν, 'which I think will bring you no small advantage.'

ἐπὶ ταύτης. Cf. Phil. 1. 6 *ἂν τοίνυν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν*, and infra, § 307.

προθέσεως, 'purpose.' Used in Aristotle and Polybius.

διὰ τούτων. By means of Aeschines and his friends. § 168.

ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν cannot refer to replies made by Philip (Weil).

συμπνευσάντων. The MSS. vary between *συμπνευσόντων* and *συμ-*

πνευσόντων ὅν. Bekker retains this active form of the future instead of *συμπνεύσομαι*), not known elsewhere, but Elmsley's conj. *συμπνευσάντων* is generally accepted. For the phrase cf. Plato, Legg. 4. 708 D *τὸ δὲ ξυμπνεῦσαι καὶ καθάπερ ἵππων ζεῦγος καθ' ἕνα εἰς ταὐτὸν τὸ λεγόμενον ξυμφυσῆσαι χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ παγχάλεπον.*

εἴ τι γένοιτο, 'if the worst should come.' Cf. Lept. § 134.

αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα, 'the very barest sketch.' Cf. § 126.

§ 169. With this piece of vivid description Dissen compares Lycurg. in Leocr. § 39, but that is much more elaborate and rhetorical.

ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις, i.e. to the section of the Boulè which was in session. They dined together in the Tholos, a building in the Agora near the Council-House.

τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν. τὰ γέρρα, 'wicker-work,' and so, anything made of wicker-work, as shields, mantlets, &c. It occurs twice in Demosthenes (1) here and (2) in pseudo-Dem.) 59. 90 *τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις κελεύει τιθέναι τοὺς καδίσκους ὁ νόμος καὶ τὴν ψῆφον διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ πρὶν τοὺς ξένους εἰσιέναι, καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἀναιρεῖν,* and the two passages must probably be taken together. Harpocration in his note on *γέρρα* mentions both, but wavers in his interpretation. (1) suggesting on de Cor. 169 that the wicker-shelters *παρασκεπάσματα*) of the booths or stalls in the market were burnt to prevent people loitering there. (A. Schaefer and Weil think that the object was to signal to the country-folk); (2) while on 59. 90 he inclines to explain the words as referring to the removal of some kind of barrier preventing access to the Ecclesia. If the two passages refer to the same thing, the explanation seems to be that when it was desired to bring people into the Ecclesia the market-place was cleared, the way to the Pnyx was opened by the removal of some sort of temporary barrier, and other roads were closed. If this explanation be accepted (though in our ignorance of the surroundings of the Pnyx, it cannot be regarded as certain), there is much to be said for accepting instead of *ἐνεπίμπρασαν* the emendation *ἀνεπετάννυσαν* suggested in the *Anhang* to Rehdantz-Blass, 1890, on the strength of a Scholiast on Aristoph. Ach. 22 *τὸ σχοινίον . . . τὸ μεμιλτωμένον*: but in view of the words of the Scholiast and of the passage quoted above from in Neaer. [59] 90 it should be translated, not as R.-B. translate 'sie zaunten den Marktplatz ab,' but 'they threw open the barrier.' The passage quoted from the Scholiast is *ἀνεπετάννυσαν γὰρ τὰ γέρρα καὶ ἀπέκλειον τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς μὴ φερούσας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ ὤνια ἀνῄρουν ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ὅπως μὴ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβοιεν.* Gardner and Jevons, p. 493, say, 'Having closed all the streets leading to and from the market except that which conducted to the place of assembly, with the aid of the archers in the paid service of the state, they drew a rope across the market-place, and swept into the

assembly all the loungers thus netted in the market, and then they fenced in the meeting with wicker fences.' But can this meaning be got out of *ἀναιρεῖν* or *ἀναπεταννύναι*?

τοὺς στρατηγούς. It was the business of the generals to summon an extraordinary meeting of the assembly, by means of the trumpeters. For the combination of 'generals' and 'orators' cf. Ol. 2. 29 and many other passages. The orators, to carry out their policy, were obliged to ally themselves with the executive.

χρηματίσαι, 'transact business.' The more general word is followed by the special *προβουλεῦσαι*, 'prepare a draft measure for the assembly.'

ἄνω, 'on the hill.' The Pnyx, where the Assembly was generally held, was in a high situation. Cf. Symm. § 25, where the orator describes Athens as lying in view before his hearers: *ὁρᾶτε τὴν πόλιν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶσαν ταυτηνί.*

οἱ πρυτάνεις. The business was laid before the Assembly not by § 170.
the Prytanes, but by a committee appointed by lot by the Epistates of the Prytany, one *πρόεδρος* from each tribe except the presiding one and an Epistates from theirs.

παρῆλθεν . . . ἀνίστατο . . . παρελθεῖν are all used in this and the next section of 'coming forward to speak.'

τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . τῶν ῥητόρων. This distinction of the two classes of 'general' and 'orator' is a mark of the politics of the time. Cf. Aesch. in Ctes. § 7 *μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον συνηγοροῦντές τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν.*

καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ. This is the reading in the margin of S. S itself has *τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος φωνῆ*. Weil omits *τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ* as due to the phrase which follows.

οἱ τριακόσιοι. The 300 richest members of the Symmories. Cf. § 171.
supra, § 103 note and Ol. 2. 29 *πρότερον μὲν γὰρ . . . εἰσεφέρετε κατὰ συμμορίας, νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. ῥήτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἑκατέρων, καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ βοησόμενοι, οἱ τριακόσιοι.*

ἐπιδόσεις. 'Extra, voluntary gifts.'

ἐκάλει, 'called for.' § 172.

παρηκολουθηκότα, 'one who had followed step by step.' Cf. De Fals. Leg. § 257 *ὁ τὰ τούτου πονηρεύματ' ἀκριβέστατ' εἰδὼς ἐγὼ καὶ παρηκολουθηκὼς ἅπασι.*

ἐγώ is put in the emphatic place as *οὐδείς* is in the two clauses in § 173.
§ 170 supra. *οὗτος* is the predicate 'to fill this part.' Cf. § 282 *σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὑρέθης*, 'that place then I came forward to fill on that day.' For the order cf. Ol. 1. 9 *ηὐξήσαμεν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς.*

τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων. 'Of your speakers and your public men.'

τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν. For the metaphor, the commonest in Demosthenes, see Index (Simile).

ἐξηταζόμην continues the military figure: *ἐξετάζειν* is to review troops, and *ἐξετάζεσθαι* to be found (on review) in one's place. See Index.

τῆς πάσης πολιτείας, 'the whole range of politics,' Kennedy, and so Voemel, 'totius reipublicae administrandae,' and on the whole this seems better than 'the whole bearing of my policy.'

§ 174. **ὑπάρχοντων,** 'that Philip is sure of the Thebans.' Cf. De Fals. Leg. 54 *τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι.* The addition of *φίλων* before **Φιλίππῳ** is quite unnecessary.

ἕτοιμα ποιήσηται, 'that he may put affairs in Thebes in readiness to receive him,' 'that he may arrange the affairs of Thebes to suit himself.' Cf. Herod. 5. 86 *ἑτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέεσθαι.*

§ 175. **εὐτρέπισται.** Generally used of 'making things ready'; here of securing people to support him; 'has made all subservient to him.'

παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα, 'by bringing forward his forces.' This verb is more commonly used by Demosthenes of bringing moral forces to bear (see Index), and there is no exact parallel to this passage.

ἐπᾶραι . . . ποιῆσαι . . . καταπλῆξαι all depend on **βούλεται.**

ἐπᾶραι. Cf. supra, § 168.

§ 176. **εἴ τι δύσκολον. κ.τ.λ.** Cf. § 189: 'every vexatious act done by the Thebans to us.' *δύσκολος,* which is primarily used subjectively, in the sense of 'peevish,' is also used of things which give trouble, e. g. of harassing diseases. The hostile acts of Thebes are dwelt on in § 96, &c.

μερίδι. Cf. § 64 *τῆς ποίας μερίδος*: and for the form of expression cf. § 292 *ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι.*

πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν . . . γένησθε, 'apply yourselves to the question.' For this use of *πρός* cf. F. L. 127 *πρὸς τῷ λήμματι καὶ τῷ δωροδοκήματι,* Chers. § 11 *πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι,* and the phrase *νοῦν προσέχειν.* The article *τῷ* serves for both infinitives.

§ 177. **ἐπανεῖναι,** 'dismiss.' The original meaning of the word is 'to relax,' but here and in Ol. 2. 30 *δεῖ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπανέντας καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν γενομένους,* it has a stronger force.

μεταθέσθαι used absolutely 'change your position,' and defined by the words which follow. Reiske supplies *φόβον* as object to the verb. Cf. infra, § 229 *μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δύξαν.* But the absolute use of the verb is supported by the similar use of *μεταβάλλεσθαι.*

τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. Cf. Ol. 1. 28, &c. All Athenians between eighteen and sixty were liable to service as hoplites, so that this phrase is equivalent to 'all those liable for service on foot.' As a rule only the men of several years were called out, but on special occasions the whole levy

might be called upon. The cavalry formed a separate body, drawn from the richest class.

ἐξ ἴσου γένηται, κ.τ.λ., 'that those in Thebes who sympathize with you may be enabled to defend the cause of justice with no less freedom than their opponents.' Cf. Phil. 1. 51 *ἃ γιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἁπλῶς οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος πεπαρρησίασμαι.*

τοῖς πωλοῦσι. Cf. § 46.

ὑπάρχεθ', 'they can count upon you.' Cf. supra, §§ 1, 174, &c.

βαδίζειν refers to the envoys: **ἐξέδου** to the troops. Cf. § 177 § 178.
ἐξελθόντας. μοι, 'I ask you to attend especially to this.'

κεῖνοι. Some MSS. have *κείναν*, which would be equally possible. Cf. § 128. And some insert *τὸ μέλλον*. Cf. adv. Lept. 162 *προορωμένους τὸ μέλλον.*

προορωμένων. This middle is used by Thucydides and Demosthenes in the sense both of 'foreseeing' and of 'providing for.' See above, § 27.

διῳκημένοι. 'we may be in the position of having accomplished what we desire.' Cf. 247.

προσχήματος. A difficult word to translate: 'dignity' seems the nearest equivalent. Jebb (note on *Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος*, Soph. El. 681) translates 'with a regard to appearances worthy of Athens.' The word has two main uses (1) something put forward as a pretext or cloak; (2) something put forward as a matter of pride or distinction. So here, 'in a manner of which the city would be proud.' But even here some editors take it in the sense of a pretext.

There is a variant *σχήματος*, which Blass adopts, in the sense of 'attitude' (*Haltung*).

ἂν δ' ἄρα, 'if, after all.'

κατατυχεῖν. Only here in Demosthenes. More often the object of success is expressed in the genitive.

κατέβην. Cf. *ἀνίστατο*, § 170. § 179.

οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ. 'I did not say this without drawing up a proposal.' The first *οὐ* negatives the double *μὲν . . . δέ* clause, cf. § 13. This 'climax' is translated by Quintilian, 9. 3. 55 'non enim dixi quidem sed non scripsi, nec scripsi quidem sed non obii legationem, nec obii quidem sed non persuasi Thebanis.'

διὰ πάντων. S omits.

διεξῆλθον, 'went through every stage.' The object is expressed sometimes by an accusative, sometimes as here by *διά* with genitive.

ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτόν. Cf. § 88.

This narrative is broken by an interlude, as in §§ 212 and 219. § 180

καίτοι. The conventional translation 'and yet' does not express the force of the word, which is used here, and in many such places, to mark a pause for reflection on what has been described or argued. 'Now let

me ask you.' Cf. § 123, where *καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο* introduces a similar interlude.

τίνα . . . θῶ; dependent deliberative. 'What part would you have me assign you?' lit. 'What would you have me set you down to be?' For *τίθημι* with inf. cf. Soph. Ant. 1166 *οὐ τίθημ' ἐγὼ ζῆν τοῦτον* Demosthenes uses both *τίθημι* and *τίθεμαι* with this construction.

διασύρων, 'in disparagement.' A common word in Demosthenes; cf. § 27.

Βάταλον. A nickname of uncertain meaning (according to Libanius derived from a flute-player of Ephesus), apparently implying effeminacy. It is used by Aeschines in his speeches against Timarchus, § 126, and on the Embassy, § 99, but not in the speech against Ctesiphon.

τὸν τυχόντα. Cf. § 130 *ὃν ἔτυχεν.*

Κρεσφόντην. The play of Euripides referred to in Ar. Poet. 14, in which Merope is the chief character. As Cresphontes is murdered long before the action of the play begins, he can only appear as a ghost in the prologue, as Welcker (Dissen) suggests. That Aeschines acted such parts appears from § 267, infra.

Κρέοντα. Probably in Sophocles' Antigone. Cf. De Fals. Leg. § 247 *ταῦτα τοίνιν ἐν τῷ δράματι τούτῳ σκέψασθε ὁ Κρέων Αἰσχίνης οἷα λέγων πεποίηται τῷ ποιητῇ.*

ἐν Κολλυτῷ. Dramatic performances were held at the Rural Dionysia of the various demes of Attica, in the month Poseideon (= December): Haigh's Attic Theatre, p. 42. Cf. in Mid. § 10 *ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ᾖ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί.* Cf. Aesch. 1. 157 *πρῴην ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονυσίοις κωμῳδῶν ὄντων ἐν Κολλυτῷ.* **Οἰνόμαον**, in the play of Sophocles, according to Harpocration.

κακός is due to the MS. Aug.; for the phrase cf. § 267, infra. Many editors omit it here.

ἐπέτριψας, 'mauled' or 'murdered.' Cf. Lucian. Rhetor. Praecept. 12 *μὴ καὶ συντρίψω που πεσὼν τὸν ἥρωα δν ὑποκρίνομαι.* Hor. Sat. i. 10. 36 'Turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona.'

Παιανιεὺς . . . Κοθωκίδου. The names of the demes are added to hive a sort of mock-solemnity to the comparison.

οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. Cf. (with a difference) § 21.

προσῆκε, sc. *πράττειν.*

§ 181. Decree of Demosthenes. Apart from errors of detail, this decree is not Demosthenic either in form or in contents. Aeschines (in Ctes. 100) mentions a speech made by Demosthenes on the Euboean question in 342, which was 'longer than the Iliad,' and that may have suggested this composition. The elaborate preamble (down to *διὸ δέδοκται*, 184) is very unlike Demosthenes' concentrated narrative in 174-9, and the language is affected.

παραιρεῖται. Not used in the actual text of Demosthenes, though a classical word for 'seducing' or 'appropriating' other people's property. The cities referred to are probably those in Thrace, § 27.

τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων. Cf. § 69.

δοριαλώτους. Used by Isocr. Panegyr. § 177. It is not clear what Athenian towns are referred to.

προάγει, 'makes great advances.' Not used by Demosthenes.

ἃs μέν. Cf. § 164. § 182.

ἐμφρούρους, 'garrisoned,' a late use of the word found in Polybius. In Xenophon it means 'on guard.' The language of this sentence is extraordinary as, so far, Philip had only occupied Elatea.

ἰδίας probably means 'belonging to Athens.' Cf. supra, § 181: § 183. but the phrase is unsatisfactory.

ἔλαττον, 'a less serious matter.'

τοῖς κατέχουσι. Cf. § 141 note. The heroes are the § 184. eponymous heroes of the Attic demes.

διότι = ὅτι. Cf. § 155.

διακοσίας ναῦς. Nothing is known of the expedition, which besides being too large, could not have operated without a land army at Thermopylae, and this was barred by Philip's occupation of Nicaea.

ναύαρχον. Cf. § 73 note.

τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον. The singular is strange, as there were ten Strategi at Athens and two Hipparchi.

ἀλλοφύλου. Cf. Phil. 3. 31 *οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ* § 185. *προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος.*

τῇ συγγενείᾳ. Dissen thinks this is an allusion to the § 186. Gephyraei at Athens, who were of Boeotian origin.

τὸν Οἰδίπουν, κ.τ.λ. According to Sophocles, Oedipus came alone.

ὑπάρχει, 'stand to our credit.' Among such occasions were the battle at Haliartus, § 96, and the liberation of the Cadmea.

ἀποστήσεται, 'abandon, hold aloof from.' Cf. 199, &c. § 187.

ἐπιγαμίαν. Very unlikely, as Demosthenes had great difficulty in persuading Athens even to an alliance with Thebes.

πρέσβεις. Only five envoys are given instead of ten (§ 178) and Demosthenes' name alone is correct.

The thread of the narrative is resumed in § 211. § 188.

κατάστασις implies the establishment of normal and peaceful relations. 'This was the first beginning of a settlement of our relations with

Thebes.' Cf. Lept. § 11 *τὰ πράγματ' ἐκεῖνα κατέστη*, 'the troubles of that time quieted down.'

ὑπηγμένων. Often used by Demosthenes in other speeches for drawing people into a bad position insensibly or by underhand means. Cf. Phil. 2. 31 *οὕτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε.*

ὑπὸ τούτων. Aeschines and his friends; cf. § 17, foll.

περιστάντα. Cf. § 179.

ὥσπερ νέφος. A simile praised by the author of the treatise *περὶ ὕψους.* For this class of imagery see § 194, infra, and the note upon it.

§ 189. **ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης,** 'the true and the false politician,' 'a statesman and a partisan,' Butcher. The radical idea in *συκοφάντης* is malicious motive. For *σύμβουλος* cf. Ol. 1. 16 *τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ὅ τι δεῖ πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τοῦτ' εἶναι συμβούλου.*

πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, 'before the event.' For the uses of *πράγματα* see Index.

δίδωσιν ἑαυτόν, κ.τ.λ., 'holds himself responsible to,' &c. For *ὑπεύθυνον* cf. de Chers. § 69.

τοῖς καιροῖς. S has *τῷ καιρῷ.*

δύσκολον. Cf. supra, § 176.

βασκαίνει, 'criticizes,' 'girds at.' Demosthenes also uses it with dative of person in the sense of 'envy.' Cf. *βάσκανος*, §§ 108, 132.

§ 190. **τῶν δικαίων λόγων** is better taken as genitive after *καιρός* than as depending on *φροντίζοντος.*

τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, 'I go so far beyond what is required of me as to admit.' (I make this concession to him, an extravagant one as you see.) Cf. De Fals. Leg. 332 *ἀλλ' ὑπερβολὴν ποιήσομαι· ἔστω γὰρ πάντ' ἀληθῆ λέξειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τουτονί.*

τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων: part. gen. 'to choose the best measures that the circumstances and possibilities of the time allowed'; lit. 'the best of the measures which were within view and were possible.'

§ 191. **ἐγγυᾶσθαι.** For the accus. cf. Timocr. 41 *ὅσοι ταῦτα ἐγγυῶνται.*

παριών. Cf. § 171 *παρελθεῖν.*

ἀλλὰ νῦν, 'now at any rate.' Cf. Ol. 3. 33 *ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ' ἀπαλλαγέντες τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν ἐθελήσητε στρατεύεσθαι.*

εὑρεῖν. The better reading perhaps is that of S, *εὐπορεῖν*, 'which I ought to have had ready,' frequently used with accusative of money or supplies furnished.

πρᾶξις. Cf. § 22, 'negotiation.'

§ 192. **ἀλλὰ μήν,** 'however'; marks the transition to a new argument.

προτίθησιν . . . βουλήν, 'proposes to deliberate.' Cf. § 273 *προυτίθει σκοπεῖν.*

τάξιν, 'the part of the statesman.' A favourite word of Demosthenes

(see Index), and hence to be preferred to *πρᾶξιν*, the reading of Aug. In *τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν*, Lept. 158, the genitive is neuter, 'the rule of justice.'

τὴν προαίρεσιν, 'the spirit of my public policy.' See Index.

αὐτή, 'taken by itself.'

εἰ κρατῆσαι, *κ.τ.λ.* The fact is stated in hypothetical form to soften what may seem a hard saying, cf. § 28 supra. § 193.

ἐν τῷ θεῷ. Cf. Soph. O. C. 1443 *ταῦτα δ' ἐν τῷ δαίμονι*, a use of *ἐν* more common in poetry than in prose.

πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην, 'initiated actions.' Cf. § 4 *ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος*.

καὶ ἀναγκαῖα. This final adjective is added after the verb to make it emphatic, 'yes, and necessary too.'

τότ' ἤδη, 'then and not till then.'

σκηπτός, 'thunderbolt' or 'hurricane.' Cf. Soph. Ant. 418, Eur. Rhes. 674 *σκηπτοῦ πιόντος πολεμίων*. § 194.

After *σκηπτός* the MSS. have *ἢ χειμών*, which was treated as a gloss by Reiske and by most editors since. Blass retains it. Such metaphors from the stormier aspects of nature are common in tragedy, but not in prose. Similar phrases in this speech are § 153 *ὥσπερ χειμάρρους* and § 214 *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμόν*.

ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις. The simile is introduced abruptly as in § 243.

ναύκληρον. For the nautical simile cf. Phil. 3. 69 *ἕως ἂν σώζηται τὸ σκάφος*, &c. *ναύκληρος* is a 'ship-owner' who often, but not always, acted as skipper.

χρησάμενον . . . πονησάντων. For the combination of the absolute use of the participle with a participle in construction with the sentence cf. Ol. 3. 27.

οὔτ' ἐκυβέρνων, *κ.τ.λ.* Demosthenes is really answering an attack in Aeschines' speech in Ctes. § 158, when he argues that if the ferryman to Salamis loses his licence for accidental shipwreck, the statesman who has wrecked the ship of state ought not to be left in command.

ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν, 'just as I was not general either' (i. e. at Chaeronea).

εἵμαρτο puts the event at once beyond human control. Cf. *τῆς εἱμαρμένης* 205. Demosthenes chooses a solemn and unusual word. § 195.

πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς, 'exhausted all the power of his rhetoric': 'left no phrase unuttered.' Cf. Plat. Legg. 890 D *πᾶσαν τὸ λεγόμενον φωνὴν ἱέντα*. Eur. Hec. 337 *σπούδαζε πάσας ὥστ' ἀηδόνος στόμα φθογγὰς ἱεῖσα*.

νῦν, 'as it was': a meaning more common in the phrase *νῦν δέ* following an unrealized hypothesis. Below we find *νῦν μὲν . . . τότε δέ*, of what did and did not happen.

τριῶν ἡμερῶν . . . ὁδόν. Athens was about ninety miles from Chaeronea. Cf. § 230.

περιέστη. Cf. § 179.

που τῆς χώρας, anywhere in Attica.

στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι, 'to make a stand, to gather forces, to collect ourselves.' Cf. Hom. Il. 22. 222 *στῆθι καὶ ἀμπνυε*. The infinitives are in apposition to **πολλά** and are the objects of **ἔδοσαν**.

μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς. The enumeration brings out the value of every day in the delay.

τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν, partitive genitive after **πολλά**.

τότε δέ, 'but, in the other event'; a fine and effective aposiopesis.

ἃ γε μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε, *κ.τ.λ.* With the reading in the text **εὔνοια** and *τὸ προβαλέσθαι* are the subjects of *πεῖραν ἔδωκε*, of which, as a compound verb, *ἃ* may be regarded as the object; 'events which the good will of the gods and the fact that Athens shielded herself with this alliance which you attack spared us even the experience of.' S has **εὔνοια** but *τῷ*, and many editors read **εὐνοίᾳ** and *τῷ*, taking *ἃ* as the subject of *πεῖραν ἔδωκε* and the datives as datives of the means: 'events which did not allow us even to experience them (sc. *πεῖραν ἑαυτῶν ἔδωκε*) thanks to the good will of the gods,' &c.

§ 196. **τὰ πολλά** is half apologetic, 'all these arguments, which I have made so long.'

ἔξωθεν, outside the bar (*δρύφακτοι*) which enclosed the court (Dissen).

ἐξήρκει, the idiomatic omission of **ἄν** with the impft. of verbs expressing fitness or possibility, just as in Latin the impft. ind. is used instead of the impft. subjunctive.

μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, a common Greek idiom. Cf. in Lept. § 62.

§ 197. **ἔδωκα ἐμαυτόν.** See Index.

ὑπολογισάμενος, 'taking into account': frequent in Plato.

ὅπερ δ' ἄν, sc. *ποιήσειε*, for this, very common, ellipse cf. *ὥσπερ ἄν*, § 194.

ἐξήτασαι, 'have been found.' Cf. § 173 and Index.

Aristratus . . . Aristolcos. The facts here referred to are unknown.

καθάπαξ. Cf. F. L. 118 *οὕτω καθάπαξ πέπρακεν ἑαυτόν.*

κρίνουσι . . . κατηγορεῖ. For the distinction cf. supra, § 15.

§ 198. **Ἑλλήνων . . . ἀπέκειτο**, a hexameter line, cf. supra, § 143: 'a man who had the misfortunes of the Hellenes stored up as capital to make his reputation out of.' For the use of *ἐν* in composition cf. Thuc. 2. 44 *οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαί τε ὁ βίος ὑμῖν καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη.*

πράττεταί τι, *κ.τ.λ.* For the question and answer cf. § 117.

ἀντέκρουσε, contains the notion of obstruction, 'did anything go wrong?' Cf. Thuc. 6. 46 *ὅτι αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει.*

ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα, *κ.τ.λ*, 'like fractures and sprains.' For this simile from the body cf. Ol. 2. 21 *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι*, &c., and see Index (Simile).

πολὺς . . . ἔγκειται. Cf. Thuc. 4. 22 *Κλέων . . πολὺς ἐνέκειτο*. 'He lays great stress on events.' § 199.

οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, very strong: 'did not so much as utter a word.'

ἀποστατέον, of abandoning a position or a principle. See Index.

νῦν μὲν . . . τότε δέ, 'as it is . . . in the other event.' § 200.

ἀκονιτί, 'without a struggle': a metaphor from the arena. Cf. F. L. 77 *ἀκονιτὶ πάνθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσηται*.

μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως. The *μη* is to be explained by some ellipse such as 'let me not say,' or 'do not suppose' that they would have shown scorn for the city or for me. Cf. Aesch. F. L. 158 *τὸ τοιοῦτον αἰτοῦ προστρόπαιον, μὴ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πόλεως*.

περιέστη. Cf. § 218. Commonly used of a reverse of fortune. § 201.

καὶ ταῦτα. Cf. § 245, &c.

μηδεπώποτε. The negative is influenced by the *εἰ*, although the hypothesis does not really touch the participial clause.

παρὰ Θηβαίων, *κ.τ.λ*. The order of events is taken from the present backwards — the Theban supremacy, the Lacedaemonian supremacy, and the Persian war. § 202.

τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν. Cf. De Pace 24 *τὰ κελευόμενα ἡμᾶς ἄρα δεῖ ποιεῖν ταῦτα φοβουμένους*;

οὐ πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, 'such conduct was against their traditions, it was not to be borne with, it was against their nature.' For the triple group of words cf. § 303. *ἀνεκτά* is rather strangely placed. Weil conjectures *διδακτά*, to get an antithesis to *ἔμφυτα*. § 203.

προσθεμένην, often used of joining a person or party. Cf. § 195.

ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. Cf. Thuc. 2. 63.

πρωτείων. Cf. § 321 *τοῦ πρωτείου*.

ἤθεσιν, of national character. Cf. § 275. § 204.

τὴν χώραν, *κ.τ.λ*., a common-place of the orators.

ἀποφηνάμενον, sc. *γιώμην*, 'the man who advised obedience.' For the fuller phrase cf. Phil. 1. 1 *οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο*.

τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις. The word, as used by Thucydides and Demosthenes, generally implies the mandate of an absolute ruler.

Κυρσίλον. According to Herodotus 9. 5 this happened to Lycidas before the battle of Plataea. As it is hardly probable that the incident was repeated, and as the circumstances suit Herodotus' account better, his story is to be preferred.

καταλιθώσαντες, not an Attic word. Weil is in favour of accepting Cobet's emendation *καταλεύσαντες*.

§ 205. δουλεύσουσιν. After this word the MSS. except S and L have εὐτυχῶς, cf. supra ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, and Weil retains it.

ἐξέσται, 'unless they were going to be allowed'; the simple future is used instead of ἐξεῖναι ἤμελλεν, as though ἀξιοῦσι had gone before.

τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης, κ.τ.λ., awaits his destined end in the course of nature.' The former of the two phrases means a death which comes in due time, without being sought, the latter one that comes by natural and not by violent means. Cf. Cic. Phil. i. 4 'praeter naturam praeterque fatum.'

περιμένει . . . ἐθελήσει, 'awaits' (always) . . . 'will be ready' (when the occasion arises). But some editors read περιμενεῖ.

ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει. The position of the participle makes it the predicate.

§ 206. προήγαγον, 'induced you.' Cf. § 269.

προαιρέσεις . . . διακονίας, 'principles . . . carrying them out into action.'

§ 207. τῶν ὅλων, 'your general policy'; usually in Demosthenes of 'general interests.' Cf. 28.

ὑμῶν, objective genitive after ἐγκώμια.

τουδί, 'my client.' Cf. 223.

ἀγνωμοσύνῃ, here used of the 'unkindness' or 'cruelty' of fortune. Cf. 252.

§ 208. οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν. For the repetition cf. 308 ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν.

μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι, κ.τ.λ. For the appeal to the heroes of Marathon, Plataea, and Salamis cf. De Fals. Leg. 312 εἰ μὴ τὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκείνας οἱ Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι παρέσχοντο οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, and for the words cf. Thuc. i. 73 φαμὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι μόνοι προκινδυνεῦσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ. This appeal is praised by the author of the treatise περὶ ὕψους, 16, as combining ἀπόδειξις, παράδειγμα, ὅρκων πίστις, ἐγκώμιον, προτροπή. (For other references see Fox, *Die Kranzrede*, p. 338.)

ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι. For the custom of public burial in the Ceramicus cf. Thuc. 2. 34. See also Pausan. 1. 29.

§ 209. γραμματοκύφων. The notion contained in the word seems to be that of a pedant poring over papers as opposed to that of a statesman with large views: but it is not quite certain whether the reference is primarily to Aeschines' life as a scribe or to his services in his father's school: 'hack of a scribe,' or 'pedagogue.'

τρόπαια, κ.τ.λ. See Aesch. in Ctes. § 181, &c.

τριταγωνιστά. Cf. 129.

τῶν πρωτείων. Cf. 66. As Weil points out, the 'high rôle' of Athens is opposed to the 'third-rate part' of Aeschines.

τούτων ἀνάξια, 'unworthy of the Athenians.'

§ 210. μέντοι. 'I should indeed have deserved death in that case.' For

this use of the word, in answering a question. cf. Plat. Theaet. 158 E *γελοῖον μέντ' ἂν εἴη.* F. L. 138 *μαίνοιτο μέντ' ἄν.*

οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, 'you ought not any more than I to judge private cases in the same spirit as public ones.'

τὰ . . . συμβόλαια are the ordinary contracts of everyday life, as opposed to *κοιναὶ προαιρέσεις,* which are 'principles of public policy.' Cf. Isocr. Panegyr. 11 *τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων.* In the speech against Timocrates, § 192, he draws a somewhat similar distinction between laws regulating ordinary contracts, and laws which affect the public life of statesmen.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων, κ.τ.λ. 'in the light of individual laws and acts.' For *ἐπί* cf. 233 *ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει* and 294 *ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι.*

ἀξιώματα, 'the noble deeds of our ancestors,' Dissen: but it is better, as most editors do, to translate it 'resolves'; cf. Phil. 3. 43.

τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ, each dicast received at the beginning of the day a staff telling him into what court to go, and a ticket entitling him to his pay at the end of the day. The 'spirit of Athens' is to be as inseparable from the judges as these signs of office.

ἐμπεσών. The studied art of the orator is described as the result of accident; cf. supra, § 160. § 211.

He now returns to the narrative dropped in § 188.

τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων: according to Philochorus these were the Aenianes, Aetolians, Dolopes, and Phthiotes.

τι τῶν δεόντων. Cf. 108. § 212.

τὸν καιρόν. Aesch. in Ctes. 141 *ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης.*

ὡς ἑτέρως. Cf. 85.

τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην. Cf. § 252, &c.

ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ. Some MSS. insert *ὁ* before *ῥήτωρ,* but it is unnecessary. It is often omitted in enumerations, and where two words, as here, are fused in one idea. In § 93 *ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία* the repetition of the article heightens the dignity of the passage, and so in § 278 *τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα,* though here Dissen thinks the two words are meant to be distinguished.

προσῆγον, 'gave them audience.' Cf. supra, § 28. § 213.

ἐκείνους. Philip's envoys.

τάξιν. See Index.

τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον. 'However, the sum of it all was this,' &c. The words form an independent sentence, like *τὸ δ' αἴτιον* in § 108.

διέντας. Cf. § 146.

εἰς ταὐτὰ . . . συντείνοντα, 'tending to the same conclusion': a frequent phrase in Plato and Demosthenes.

§ 214. **ἀντὶ παντὸς ἄν**, κ.τ.λ., 'I would give my life to tell you.' For the phrase cf. Ol. 1. 1 *ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἐλέσθαι νομίζω*. As Weil points out, it suits Demosthenes' purpose here much better to leave Philip's arguments unanswered.

ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ. For the ellipse cf. § 194, and for the phrase *κατακλυσμόν* cf. 153 *ὥσπερ χειμάρρους*. 'Believing that there has been a revolution, so to speak, in the world of politics,' or 'believing that those were the days of politics before the flood.'

§ 215. **ἵνα τἀν μέσῳ παραλείπω**. The terms of the arrangement are given by Aesch. in Ctes. 143, viz. that the Thebans were to bear one-third of the expense, and were to command by land.

ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, κ.τ.λ. Reiske's view was that the Thebans kept their own soldiers outside the city and admitted the Athenians, but these words, in the absence of defining pronouns, must refer, as Dissen says, to the Athenian troops themselves. The Athenians encamped outside the walls, but were allowed freely to enter the city.

τὰ τιμιώτατα, 'among their wives and children and all that they hold most precious.' The second *καί* is explanatory.

καίτοι, 'I tell you.' See note on § 180 above.

καθ' ὑμῶν. Cf. Phil. 2. 9 *ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον*.

παρὰ πᾶσι δ'. Cf. 43 *καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες*.

ἐφ' ὑμῖν, 'in your power.'

§ 216. **κατά γ' ὑμᾶς**, 'so far, at least, as you were concerned,' apart from the issue of the war.

τὰς πρώτας μάχας. The former of these two battles was probably fought at the Cephisus, which Philip had to cross on his way from Elatea. The second must remain doubtful: *τὴν χειμερινήν*, which is the reading of all the MSS., ought to mean 'the battle in the winter.' This can be reconciled with the chronology of the time if, with Grote, we suppose ten months interval between the capture of Elatea (Oct. 339), and the battle of Chaeronea (Aug. 338). Others translate 'the battle in the storm,' which should be *χειμέριον*.

μάχας is omitted by S but is in all the other MSS. Westermann-Rosenberg follow S, and supply *παρατάξεις* and hold that there were no battles but only manœuvring. But the context seems to imply something more than that.

θυσίαι καὶ πομπαί. At the Panathenaea (Dissen).

§ 217. **ἐπαίνων**. Demosthenes has just said that these votes of thanks came from foreigners: he may here refer to foreigners residing in Athens. For the whole passage cf. De Fals. Leg. 86 *θυσιῶν καὶ ἐπαίναν ἠξιοῦσθε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις*. In both passages Cobet conjectures *παιάνων*.

δυσμεναίνων. A poetical word. Cf. Eur. Med. 874.

ἐξητάζετο. See Index.

μᾶλλον δέ. Cf. 65.

ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις. Cf. in Mid. § 201 *τοῦτον οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι δεκάκις προσήκει* ;

ἐν, 'in the midst of,' 'engaged in.' Compare such phrases as § 218.
ἐν λύγοις, ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εἶναι. Here *ἐν τῷ . . . νομίζειν* is an extension of this use.

περιειστήκει. Cf. supra, § 201.

οἵας τότ' ἠφίει φωνάς. Cf. 195.

ταραχαῖς. Cf. Isocr. Paneg. 138 *εἰ γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁμονοησάντων αὐτὸς ἐν ταραχαῖς ὢν χαλεπὸς ἔσται προσπολεμεῖν,* &c.

εἰς Πελοπόννησον. Cf. 156.

συνέχεια, 'perseverance, persistence.' Only here used in this sense, which is not uncommon in the adjective *συνεχής.*

τὰ πολλά, 'those many decrees.'

ἃ νῦν οἵτος διέσυρε. There is nothing to correspond to this in Aeschines' speech. For *διέσυρε* cf. 27.

Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, the pronoun marks him as famous. Calli- § 219.
stratus of Aphidnae was an eminent Athenian statesman and orator of the generation before Demosthenes. He played a large part in the revival of the confederacy of Delos, 378 B.C. In 361 he had to go into exile, and on returning to Athens was executed.

Aristophon, who began his public life at the restoration of the democracy, became conspicuous on the fall of Callistratus and continued in power until about 354, when Eubulus came to the front. Cf. § 70, supra.

Cephalus, like Aristophon, was a supporter at Athens of the party inclining to Boeotia.

Thrasybulus of Stiria and Thrasybulus of Collytus both took part in restoring the Athenian power after 403. Probably the former, who is the more famous, is here referred to.

ἔδωκεν ἑαυτόν. See Index.

οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν. This frequentative use of a past tense with *ἄν* is frequent with the imperfect, but less common with the aorist.

εἴ τι γένοιτο. Euphemistic, as in 168; 'if any accident should happen.'

ἀναφοράν. Explained by Harpocration as 'a scape-goat' 'an excuse': some one or something to throw the blame on. This corresponds with the use of *ἀναφέρειν* in such phrases as *ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους* in 224, and with the force of *ἀνά* in *ἀναδέχομαι* and *ἀνατίθημι,* &c. On the other hand some editors interpret the word here in the sense of 'chance of recovery.' Cf. Eur. Or. 414 *ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀναφορὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς.* There is a similar use of the word in Aeschin. De Fals. Leg. 104

νῦν δὲ αὐτοῖς μὲν κατέλιπον τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς ἀναφορὰν ἂν μή τι πείθωσιν, 'they left themselves the opportunity of falling back upon their ambiguous policy.' If the word be taken so here, we may compare F. L. 41 *ἀναχώρησιν ἑαυτῷ καταλείπων*. Westermann-Rosenberg translate it 'Rückhalt' (= reserve, something to fall back upon).

§ 220. **χώραν**. 'I was convinced that the danger that had beset the city was so great that I thought it left no room for considering one's personal safety.' This is an uncommon use of *χώραν*, but it can be supported by such phrases as *χώραν παρέχειν τινί*, and it is better than either *ὥραν*, a marginal reading in S, or *ὥραν*, 'regard,' which is G. Schaefer's emendation. It forms almost one idea with *πρόνοιαν*, which as coming last determines the genitive *ἀσφαλείας*: *χώραν* by itself would naturally have taken the dative. Weil suggests as a correction *οὐδὲ προνοίᾳ χώραν οὐδεμίᾳ*.

ἀγαπητόν, 'one ought to be content with doing one's duty without fail.' The normal use of *ἀγαπητόν*.

§ 221. **γράψαι βέλτιον**. Weil brackets *βέλτιον*, as destroying the symmetry of the sentence.

ἐν πᾶσιν, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'on every occasion I was at the post of action.' For *τάττειν* see Index, *τάξις*.

§ 222. **ἐπαιρόμενος**. Used of lifting up arms by way of menace and so metaphorically of words; cf. Soph. O. T. 634 *τί τὴν ἄβουλον, ὦ ταλαίπωροι, στάσιν γλώσσης ἐπήρασθ'*;

ἐστεφανούμην. Imperfect: 'a crown was proposed for me.'

τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων. The proportion of the votes necessary to save him from the penalty for frivolous accusation, i. e. one-fifth. Cf. 103. For Diondas cf. 249.

ἀποπεφευγότα, 'which were acquitted.'

γραφέντα here is passive of *γράφεσθαι*, to indict.

§ 223. Aristonicus. Cf. 83.

συγκατηγόρησεν, 'joined in the indictment,' like the *subscriptor* in a Roman court.

Demomeles. Son of Demon and cousin of Demosthenes.

§ 224. **ἀνενεγκεῖν**, 'Ctesiphon can refer for precedents to their case' Cf. 219 note.

καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους, *κ.τ.λ.* It is quite true that the Attic law forbad the trial of the same offence twice before the same court: but, as Dissen points out, the law does not apply here. The question at issue, though concerned with Demosthenes' policy in both cases, was not identical and the defendants were different.

περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων, 'on cases which have been settled thus.'

πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν, 'before it was prejudiced by any of these

circumstances,' i.e. in Ctesiphon's favour. For *προλαβεῖν* cf. De Fals. Leg. 79 *πρὶν τούτων τι τῆς πόλεως προλαβεῖν.*

It is better to take *τὸ πρᾶγμα* as subject, rather than Ctesiphon.

οἶμαι. Used to qualify an assertion, often with a touch of irony or humour, as here. Cf. 46. § 225.

ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, κ.τ.λ. This refers, as Dissen says, to Aeschines' paragraphs on the peace of 346 B.C. Cf. Aesch. in Ctes. § 60.

τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. The dative depends on **μεταθέντα.**

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. Cf. 17. § 226.

τοὺς παρ' αὐτά, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 15.

ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα, κ.τ.λ., 'a rhetorical competition instead of an examination of the facts of public policy.' Dissen quotes Thuc. 3. 67 *ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἔργων.*

ἐξέτασιν. See Index.

This is an answer to § 59 of Aeschines' speech, where he had accused Demosthenes of securing advantages for Philip in the Peace of Philocrates. The Athenians, he argues, must not refuse to believe this of Demosthenes on the ground of his general reputation as an opponent of Philip. § 227.

Εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθ' ἀκρόασιν ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. ἐρχόμεθα δήπου ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίοτε δύξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὰν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐστιν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοὐθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἱρῇ.

καθαραὶ ὦσιν, 'if the counters come out clear,' that is, it would seem, if they balance one another. S has *καθαιρωσιν*, and some editors following Voemel read *καθαιρῶσιν*, 'if the accounts cancel the balance' (cf. *ἀντανελεῖν* in 231). But there is no authority for this use of the word. The best correction is *ἂν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι, ἂν μηδὲν περιῇ*, 'whatever the counters prove,' in which case *καθαιρεῖν* is simply a 'stronger' form of *αἱρεῖν* as used by Aeschines above. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 7. 36 *ὅ τι ἂν αἱ πλείους ψῆφοι καθαιρῶσιν.*

προσθέσθαι, 'give your support to,' 'acquiesce in.'

ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ. This is the reading of the best MSS.: others have **ὑμᾶς**, which has given rise to Cobet's conjecture *ἐγνωκότας καὶ πεπεισμένους*: but the passive participle with *ἡμᾶς* as subject gives good sense; 'that the judgement already formed of us is, that I speak for my country, and he for Philip.' § 228.

τιθεὶς ψήφους, 'setting down counters.' § 229.

οὗτος, 'of that sort.'

λογισταῖς, 'auditors.' Cf. 117.

§ 231. **ψήφοις ὅμοιος**, 'like a matter of counters' (figures).

ἀντανελεῖν, 'cancel out these facts,' i. e. balance the results of my policy against the probable results of his.

οὐκέτι, 'I do not go on to add.'

καθάπαξ, 'once for all.'

περιβαλλόμενος, 'trying to compass his other objects.' Cf. Phil. 1. 9 *ἀεί τι προσπεριβάλλεται.*

καλῶς ποιοῦντες. This is the idiomatic and parenthetical use of the phrase. It does not mean 'doing well,' or 'faring well,' but 'I am glad to think,' or 'and rightly so.' Cf. Ol. 1. 28 *ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχουσι.*

§ 232. **καὶ μήν.** Cf. supra, 14.

συκοφαντεῖν. See Index.

ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα, 'imitating phrases and gestures.' Aeschines in Ctes. 167, &c. ridicules Demosthenes' excessive gesticulation *ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες.*

παρὰ τοῦτο, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'for of course the fortunes of Hellas turned wholly on this—whether I used this phrase or that, or moved my hand one way or the other.' This use of *παρά* with the accusative to express the determining cause is found in Thucydides and is frequent in Demosthenes. Cf. Phil. 3. 2 *πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἴτια τούτων, καὶ οὐ παρ' ἓν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα ἀφῖκται.*

οὐχ ὁρᾶς; Used here and in 266 in an ironical clause.

§ 233. **ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων.** Cf. 210 *ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων.*

ἐπιστάς. Cf. 60 *ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην* and Phil. 1. 12 *ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες.* In all these cases the idea of the word is command or control of affairs. Here it is used exceptionally without an expressed object.

παρ' ἐμοί, 'at my door.'

§ 234. This describes the impoverished condition of Athens after the war of the allies, 355, had reduced the resources of the reconstructed confederacy of Delos. The 'weakest islands' were Peparethus, Proconnesus, Tenedos, Thasos, Sciathus. Samos was still held by Athens: Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros counted as Athenian possessions.

σύνταξιν, 'subscription.' The euphemism for *φόρος*, employed under the revived confederacy of 378. Cf. de Pace, 13.

προεξειλεγμένα, 'raised before they were due.' *ἐκλέγειν* is the technical term for collecting the contributions due from citizens or allies. Cf. Boeckh, *die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, i. p. 190, foll. (third edition). In Phil. 1. 34 *ἀμίθητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε*, it is applied bitterly to Philip's exactions.

§ 235. **ὑπῆρχεν.** See Index.

αὐτοκράτωρ, κ.τ.λ. Demosthenes more than once contrasts the advantages and disadvantages of monarchy and democracy. Cf. F. L. 185 *ἐν ἐκείναις μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι πολιτείαις πάντ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὀξέως γίγνεται· ὑμῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν ἀκοῦσαι περὶ πάντων καὶ προβουλεῦσαι δεῖ, κ.τ.λ.*

τὰ ὅπλα, κ.τ.λ., 'were always under arms.' This is contrasted in Phil. 3. 48 with the old-fashioned 'civic' campaigns of Athens and Sparta, limited to forty days.

οὐδὲ γραφάς, κ.τ.λ. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* and the *εὔθυναι* were of course characteristic safeguards of the Athenian constitution. Demosthenes here and elsewhere shows himself well aware of the difficulties and delays they involved.

προυτίθεθ'. Used with *λόγον* or *σκοπεῖν*, of putting a subject for discussion before the assembly, or giving an opportunity for speaking. 'Take first the mere right of addressing the assembly, the only privilege I shared in, you offered this no less to Philip's hirelings than to me.' § 236.

ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, κ.τ.λ., 'you left the Assembly having decided in favour of our enemies.'

ἐκ τοιούτων, κ.τ.λ., 'starting with disadvantages of this sort.' This use of *ἐκ* is common in the phrase *ἐκ τῶνδε*. § 237.

πολιτικῶν, 'the forces of each state.' This seems better than to take it, as some editors do, of the forces of Athens alone. For the use of *πολιτικός* see Index.

τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, 'what was just between us and Thebes.' *Πρός* with accusative of person expresses a twofold relation. Aeschines (in Ctes. 91. 143) accuses Demosthenes with having made alliance with Thebes and Chalcis on too favourable terms. Demosthenes converts the accusation into a ground of boasting. § 238.

τὰς διακοσίας. These figures are variously stated by different authors. The total number of ships is put by Aeschylus at 300, by Herodotus at 378, and by Thucydides, 1. 74 at 400. The Athenian contingent is put by Demosthenes (in the speech de Symm. 29) at 100, by Herodotus at 180, and by Demosthenes here at 200. But Thucydides says the Athenians contributed two-thirds, which confirms this passage.

ἐλαττοῦσθαι, 'that these rights were being infringed.'

κρίνουσα, 'bringing to trial.' Cf. 15.

κενάς, 'they are fruitless favours you bestow on the Athenians by misrepresenting me': because the advice comes too long after the event. § 239.

εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο, κ.τ.λ., 'if the circumstances of the day really allowed it, at a time when we were obliged to accept not what we chose, but just what the situation allowed us at the moment.'

παρά here = *propter*, as above in 232.

ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος, 'for there was some one bidding against us, one who would welcome at once those whom we drove away, and would pay them to come—he was ready, and they could count on him.'

τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους, refers not to men exiled from Athens, but to allies rejected.

§ 240. **τί ἂν οἴεσθε . . . τί ποιεῖν**; Cf. Phil. 3. 35 *καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἕνα ἡμῶν ἑκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσειν*;

ἀκριβολογουμένου, 'if I had calculated our rights too precisely.' In Plato, used generally of precise or scientific statement or investigation (and so supra, § 21): here rather of a pedantic calculation of moral claims: cf. F. L. 182 *εἰ μὲν Αἰσχίνης ἰδιώτης ὢν ἀπελήρησέ τι καὶ διήμαρτε, μὴ σφόδρα ἀκριβολογήσησθε.*

§ 241. **εἶτα**, 'would they not have gone on to say?' &c. The whole sentence which follows is hypothetical.

τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας. Cf. 230.

§ 242. **πονηρόν.** For the contemptuous neuter cf. Plat. Theaet. 195 B *δεινόν τ', ὦ Θεαίτητε, ὡς ἀληθῶς κινδυνεύει καὶ ἀηδὲς εἶναι ἀνὴρ ἀδολέσχης.*

κίναδος. Cf. 162 note.

τάνθρώπιον. Diminutive of contempt. He often uses ἄνθρωπος of Philip. Cf. Phil. 1. 9. 50, &c.

αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος. These words are another jeer at Aeschines' dramatic performances. *τραγικός* is used derisively as in 313, with the notion of 'stagey' or 'ranting' acting: while *πίθηκος* implies that the actor's gifts were merely imitative: cf. Ar. Poet. 26 *ὡς λίαν γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντα πίθηκον ὁ Μυνίσκος τὸν Καλλιπίδην ἐκάλει.* 'The veriest ape of high tragedy.'

ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος refers to Aeschines' appearances at the rural Dionysia (cf. supra, § 180), and also to his supposed thefts of country produce, cf. 262; cf. Aristoph. Ran. 840 *ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ*, where Euripides is ridiculed as the son of a seller of herbs.

παράσημος, 'counterfeit,' a metaphor from the currency. Demosthenes in the peroration to the speech against Leptines, 167, compares national character and national currency: *θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε εἰ τοῖς μὲν τὸ νόμισμα διαφθείρουσι θάνατος παρ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἡ ζημία, τοῖς δ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κίβδηλον καὶ ἄπιστον ποιοῦσι λόγον δώσετε.*

δεινότης, 'cleverness'; cf. § 144 note.

εἰς ὄνησιν ἥκει, 'tend to the profit of the city'; formed on the analogy of *εἰς καιρὸν ἥκειν* (Weil); cf. Soph. O. C. 452 *οὐδέ σφιν ἀρχῆς τῆσδ' . . . ὄνησις ἥξει.*

§ 243. **ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις.** For the form of the sentence cf. 194. For the medical simile cf. Ol. 3. 33 *καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λημμάτων ἀπαλλαγείητε*

ἃ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις διδομένοις ἔοικεν, &c. The passage is referred to by Aeschines in Ctes. 225.

τὸ καὶ τό, 'such and such.' F. L. 74 ὡς εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐσώθησαν ἂν οἱ Φωκεῖς. This demonstrative use of the article is limited in Attic to a few phrases, with μὲν . . . δέ, or as here with καί.

ἐμβρόντητε is addressed primarily to the physician, and only by implication to Aeschines.

εἶτα. Often used in indignant questions. See Index.

§ 244. τὴν ἧτταν. Chaeronea.

γαυριᾷς. Properly of horses prancing; cf. Xen. Eq. 10. 16 γαυριώμενος φέρεται. Cf. *exsultare*.

ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοί, 'the defeat was not due to anything that lay in my power.' Cf. παρ' ἐμοί. 233, of responsibility.

ὅποι πρεσβευτής, κ.τ.λ. For these embassies see Introduction, pp. 4, 5, 11. The dates of the embassies to Thessaly and Illyria are unknown: that to Ambracia was in 343: that to the princes of Thrace probably with that to Byzantium in 341: that to Thebes (see 211, &c.) in 338.

§ 245 εἰς μαλακίαν, 'on the score of cowardice.' Cf. Thuc. 5. 75 τὴν . . . ἐπιφερομένην αἰτίαν ἔς τε μαλακίαν.

τῆς γε ἑκάστου ψυχῆς, 'the life of each man,' not, as Kennedy translates, 'spirit.'

§ 246 ὧν γ' ἄν, κ.τ.λ., 'for all that an orator can possibly be held responsible for': the optative is potential.

ἐξέτασιν, 'demand a full account.' See Index.

βραδυτῆτας, κ.τ.λ. These plurals express instances of the qualities referred to.

πολιτικά, 'inherent in states as such.' See Index.

ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστον συστεῖλαι, 'reduce to the narrowest possible limits.'

§ 247. διῳκήσατο. Of securing a man's own ends. See Index.

τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, 'by his army.' Cf. 216. For the combination of substantive and infinitive cf. § 195 εὔνοια καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι.

ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, 'in control of affairs.'

οὐδ' ὁ λόγος, κ.τ.λ., 'I cannot be called to account for the acts carried out by these means' (i. e. by armed force).

τῷ διαφθαρῆναι, κ.τ.λ., 'where it was a question of having taken bribes or not.'

ὁ ὠνούμενος, 'the man who gives a bribe.' Cf. § 239.

λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρείς. A compound phrase negatived by μή. It is not necessary to read μηδέ for καί.

τὸ κατ' ἐμέ, 'so far as I am concerned.' Cf. § 216 κατά γ' ὑμᾶς.

§ 248. ἤδη, 'I will go on to tell you.' Cf. § 124.

ἐμβεβηκώς, 'being in the midst of'; more often with εἰς and accusative.

ἀγνωμονῆσαι, 'take severe measures against me.' Cf. § 94.

θαυμαστὸν ἦν. This is the common use of the imperfect without ἄν found with verbs and adjectives which express duty or fitness, or the like.

περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως. The united efforts of that time are graphically described by Lycurgus, Leocr. 44 *κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχετο ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς πολεως σωτηρίαν, ὅτε ἡ μὲν χώρα δένδρα συνεβάλλετο, οἱ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θήκας, οἱ δὲ νεῳ τὰ ὅπλα· ἐπεμελοῦντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῆς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευῆς οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν τάφρων οἱ δὲ τῆς χαρακώσεως, οὐδεὶς δ' ἦν ἀργὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.*

σιτώνην. The ordinary Corn-commissioners at Athens were the Sitophylakes, corresponding to the Agoranomi for other wares; but in times of special scarcity extraordinary officers were appointed to arrange for extra importations.

§ 249. συστάντων, 'combining against me.' Cf. § 297 *συστάσεως*.

γραφάς, *κ.τ.λ.* For the enumeration cf. § 80 *ἐπαινοῦσι δίκαι τιμαί, κ.τ.λ.* And for *πάντα* summing up the preceding three words cf. *πολλά* so used in § 195.

οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν, 'not in their own names.'

πρώτους, immediately after Chaeronea.

κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην. Cf. § 68.

Sosicles and Melantus are unknown. Diondas is mentioned in § 222. Philocrates is not the author of the peace of 346, but a man of Eleusis, mentioned by Dem. 25. 44.

ἀληθές, almost 'right,' 'proper.' Cf. *verum* in Latin.

ἐστι. The orator identifies for the moment the previous trials with the present one.

ὑπὲρ τῶν . . . δικαστῶν, 'in the interest of the judges': i.e. my acquittal saves the judges from perjury. 'Saves the conscience (honour) of the judges'; cf. § 1.

§ 250 ἀπεψηφίζεσθε, 'voted my acquittal'; the opposite of *καταψηφίζομαι*. The imperfects describe the various occasions when he was tried and acquitted.

τὸ μέρος. Cp. §§ 103, 222.

ἔννομα. This is fitly used of the acquittal in a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, 'set your official seal upon,' 'officially approved'; a technical term applied to the official auditors of accounts (*λογισταί*).

προσωμολογεῖτε. Here is only a stronger *ὁμολογεῖν*.

οὐχ ὅ. For the repetition cf. § 88 *τίς . . . τίς*.

τὸν δῆμον . . . τοὺς δικαστὰς . . . τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Dissen points out that these correspond to the different forms of trial named above, *εἰσαγγελία, γραφή, δίκαι*.

τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Observe the personification, which is more common with *δίκη*.

§ 251. **τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου**, 'the boast of Cephalus.' Cephalus was an orator of the time of the restored democracy, named above, § 219. The reference is to Aesch. in Ctes. 194 *ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος . . . ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο λέγων ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων.*

φυγεῖν. The reading of S is *φεύγειν*, but the aorist infinitive suits the sense better.

καὶ νὴ Δί' εὔδαιμόν γε, 'yes, and a fortunate boast too.' For *γε* in an answer cf. supra, § 117 *καὶ δέδωκά γ' εὐθίνας.*

ἐν ἐγκλήματι. Compare the common phrase *ἐν αἰτίᾳ.*

καλόν. Bracketed by Weil, after Herwerden.

ἐγράψατο . . . ἐδίωξε, 'he never drew up an indictment against me or carried it into court.'

§ 252. **ἀγνωμοσύνην**, 'want of feeling.' Here applied to the unreasoning brutality of Aeschines, above, in 207, to the blind cruelty of fortune.

τύχης. Cf. supra, § 212.

προφέρει (= obicit), 'reproaches a man with,' a use of the word common to Homer, Herodotus and the orators.

ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται. Cf. § 233 *δικαίας χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.*

ἀνθρωπινώτερον, 'in a more modest spirit,' i.e. in a spirit more appropriate to human conditions; cf. in Mid. 41 *ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ μετρία σκῆψις.*

§ 253. **τὴν τῆς πόλεως τύχην**. Cf. Eupolis ap. Athenaeum, ix. p. 425 *ὦ πόλις πόλις, ὡς εὐτυχὴς εἶ μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς.* For Demosthenes' views on the fortune of Athens cf. Phil. 1. 12 *τῆς τύχης . . . ἥπερ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα.*

τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον. Zeus of Dodona: quoted as the oldest of Greek oracles; cf. Hdt. 2. 52 *τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήϊον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι.* Some MSS. add *καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον.*

§ 254. **τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δέ**. For the two contrasted infinitives cf. §§ 57, 58.

αὐτῶν, 'those very Greeks who imagined that if they abandoned us they would themselves live a life of prosperity.'

τύχης. For this possessive genitive with *τίθημι* cf. Ol. 1. 10 *τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἄν τις θείη δικαίως.*

τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι. This infinitive may be regarded as the object of *μετειληφέναι*, having *τὸ . . . μέρος* in apposition to it. Dissen and others, however, regard the infinitive as a sort of accusative of respect: 'quod vero illud attinet, quod offendimus,' &c. In any case the sense 'is but in so far as we failed, and things did not turn out entirely as we desired, in this I think that our city has but received the portion which falls to our lot of the general fortune of mankind.'

τὸ ἐπιβάλλον. Cf. § 272. Hdt. 4. 115 *ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων*

τὸ ἐπιβάλλον. For accusative after μετειληφέναι of the part taken cf. Plat. Apol. 36 B οὐ μεταλαβὼν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων.

§ 255. ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, 'among private (personal) matters.'

οὑτωσὶ . . . ἀξιῶ, 'I hold this opinion.'

§ 256. καὶ μήν. See Index.

πάντως rather means 'absolutely,' 'in any case,' than as some translate it, 'at all.' Cf. Hdt. 6. 9 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται.

ψυχρότητα, 'bad taste.' Cf. ψυχρὰ λέγω, Xen. Sympos. 6. 7. Dissen renders it by 'absurditas, ineptia,' L. and S. by 'want of feeling.' ψυχρός, like the Latin *frigidus*, is applied to what is 'pointless' in wit, or vapid in style. Here it seems to have a moral rather than an intellectual force.

ἐμπίπτειν εἰς, 'to drop into arguments of this sort'; cf. §§ 41, 211.

ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων, 'I will handle in as gentle a way as the circumstances admit.'

§ 257. ὑπῆρξεν, 'it was my fortune' (privilege): implies an assured position. See Index.

φοιτᾶν. Regularly used of going to school; cf. Ar. Eq. 1235 παῖς ἂν ἐφοίτας εἰς τίνος διδασκάλου; The words μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς are omitted in the first hand of S and in L. In that case the subject of ὑπῆρξε is first a substantive, and then an infinitive.

χορηγεῖν. The three ordinary public services (ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι) were the χορηγία, γυμνασιαρχία and ἑστίασις; cf. in Lept. § 21 πόσοι δή ποτ' εἰσὶν οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς ἐγκυκλίους λειτουργίας λειτουργοῦντες, χορηγοὶ καὶ γυμνασίαρχοι καὶ ἑστιάτορες;

εἰσφέρειν. He was liable to the εἰσφορά even before manhood, but not to the ordinary services.

φιλοτιμίας, 'to miss no opportunity of distinguishing myself.' He alludes to such services as his volunteer trierarchy (§ 99), and those named in § 261.

καλά γ', 'honourable at least, if not successful.'

§ 258. συμβεβίωκα, 'I have grown up with.' Demosthenes tries to show that his life was consistent, and always lived on a high level, while that of Aeschines was fortuitous and lived from hand to mouth. For συμβεβίωκα cf. Ol. 1. 14 τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ᾗ χρῆται καὶ συζῇ Φίλιππος.

ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνήρ; the best MSS. have σεμνυνόμενος, but the reading σεμνός is supported by quotations in the Rhetors, and by the frequent use of the word (one specially appropriate to a player) in ironical passages; cf. σεμνῶς §§ 35, 130, cf. Ar. Pl. 275 ὡς σεμνὸς οὐπίτριπτος: while the repetition of the verb is rather harsh.

διαπτύων. Does not appear to be used elsewhere in the orators. καταπτύειν is more common.

προσεδρεύων. Of constant attendance: used metaphorically in Ol. 1. 18, of persistent attention to an object, *προσκαθεδεῖται καὶ προσεδρεύσει τοῖς πράγμασι.*

παιδαγωγεῖον. The waiting-room of the *παιδαγωγοί*, the slave attendants on the boys going to school.

τάξιν. See Index.

τελούσῃ. The rites described in the words that follow were probably those connected with the worship of the Phrygian Sabazius, one of the foreign deities whose orgiastic worship was finding favour at Athens with the increase of intercourse with Asia, and the decline of the national religion. Indications are found in the writings of Plato, Demosthenes' contemporary, of the prevalence of these baser 'mysteries,' cf. Plato, Rep. 364 E, &c., *βίβλων δὲ ὅμαδον παρέχονται* **Μουσαίου καὶ Ὀρφέως, Σελήνης τε καὶ Μουσῶν ἐγγόνων**, *ὡς φασι, καθ' ἃς θυηπολοῦσι, πείθοντες οὐ μόνον ἰδιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, ὡς ἄρα λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοὶ ἀδικημάτων διὰ θυσιῶν καὶ παιδιᾶς ἡδονῶν εἰσὶ μὲν ἔτι ζῶσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τελευτήσασιν, ἃς δὴ τελετὰς καλοῦσιν, αἳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν ἀπολύουσιν ἡμᾶς, μὴ θύσαντας δὲ δεινὰ περιμένει.* For this subject see Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Gk. Ant.*, p. 215. § 259.

συνεσκευρωῦ, 'reading the books and joining in the rest of her mummery.' Dissen compares Diog. Laert. 10. 3, where Epicurus in his youth is accused *σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιιόντα εἰς τὰ οἰκίδια καθαρμοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκειν.*

νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων, 'busy with the fawn-skin and the bowl.' Dr. Rutherford in *The New Phrynichus*, p. 178, under *γαστρίζειν* shows that many verbs in *-ίζω* depend for their exact meaning on the context, e.g. *λαρυγγίζειν*, which in § 291, below, means 'to strain the throat,' but in Ar. Eq. 358, 'to throttle.' The termination, both here and in § 291, is contemptuous.

ἀπομάττων, *κ.τ.λ.*, see Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 39, 40.

ἀνιστάς. The candidate for initiation had to sit down: cf. the mock-ceremony in Aristoph. Nub. 254, *Socr. κάθιζε τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερὸν σκίμποδα. Str. ἰδοὺ κάθημαι.*

ὀλολύξαι. For Aeschines' fine voice cf. §§ 285, 313. In Herod. 4. 189, the *ὀλολυγή* is said to be derived from Libya.

μὴ γάρ, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'you must not suppose that one who speaks so loud is not shrill beyond words when he yells.'

θιάσους. The word is often applied to the smaller societies at Athens, for the worship of a particular deity. They had their own organization and officers. But here it is used in a less technical sense of a band of worshippers. § 260.

μαράθῳ . . . λεύκῃ. Both fennel and white poplar were supposed to have magical powers; the poplar was brought from Acheron by

Heracles (Paus. 5. 14. 2), and fennel had a peculiar effect on snakes (Aelian, *Hist. An.* 10. 16).

ὄφεις. Cf. Eur. Bacch. 698. The *παρείας* is said to have been a harmless kind of snake, sacred to Asclepius, cf. Ar. Plut. 690 :

> *τὸ γράδιον δ' ὡς ᾔσθετό πού μου τὸν ψόφον*
> *τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπερῆρε· κᾆτα συρίξας ἐγὼ*
> *ὀδὰξ ἐλαβόμην, ὡς παρείας ὢν ὄφις.*

εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, *κ.τ.λ.*, for these invocations see Lobeck, Aglaopham. ii. p. 1041, foll.

ἔξαρχος, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'leader and conductor and chest-bearer, and fan-bearer.' The fan is the 'mystica vannus Iacchi.'

κιστοφόρος, is a correction for the manuscript reading *κιττοφόρος*, 'wearing the ivy,' in support of which Voemel quotes Plut. Vit. Alexand. 2, which illustrates this passage generally. *ἡ Ὀλυμπιὰς μᾶλλον ἐτέραν ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον, ὄφεις μεγάλους χειροήθεις ἐφείλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οἳ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκνων παραδυόμενοι καὶ περιελιττόμενοι τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἄνδρας.*

ἔνθρυπτα, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'sops, and rolls and cakes.'

§ 261. **εἰς τοὺς δημότας,** *κ.τ.λ.*, 'enrolled in the list of your deme,' i.e. in the deme-register, *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, kept by the demarchos. This enrolment was the qualification for the exercise of civil rights, as enrolment in the phratry was for the exercise of religious privileges. For instances of tampering with the deme-register cf. Demosth. in Leoch. (44) § 37, in Eubulid. (57) §§ 60, 61.

ὁπωσδήποτε, 'however that may have been'; cf. § 146 *τοὺς ὁποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς.*

δ' οὖν. Resumptive, after a parenthesis.

τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. Abstract for concrete, 'petty magistrates.' For this part of Aeschines' life cf. F. L. § 70 *ὑπογραμματεύων γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τῇ βουλῇ.*

τῶν προῠπηργμένων may be 'his previous acts,' or more widely 'his antecedents'; cf. Arist. Rhet. i. 9. 31 *εἰ ἀξία τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῶν προϋπηργμένων.*

§ 262. **τοῖς βαρυστόνοις.** A nickname, 'the roarers' or 'the ranters.'

ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης, 'like a fruiterer.' The suggestion is that Aeschines took advantage of his performance in the rural demes to rob the orchards, getting more from this than from his playing. (A double meaning 'more blows' being hinted beneath 'more profit,' as the words that follow show.)

After **λαμβάνων** the later hand in S has *τραύματα*, which spoils the point.

ἀγώνων. Here again there is a play on the two meanings of dramatic contest and a physical struggle for life.

ὑμεῖς, i.e. Aeschines and his company.

ἄσπονδος, κ.τ.λ., mock-solemn words. They are used literally in Aesch. Fals. Leg. § 80 *εἰ δ' ἔσονται τῶν πολέμων αἱ μὲν εὔθυναι τῶν πρέσβεων αἱ δὲ δωρεαὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀσπόνδους καὶ ἀκηρύκτους τοὺς πολέμους ποιήσετε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθελήσει πρεσβεύειν.*

τὰ τοῦ τρόπου, 'the charges which concern your character.' Cf. § 263. Thuc. 8. 96 *διάφοροι γὰρ πλεῖστον ὄντες τὸν τρόπον* (of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians): more often used in this sense in the plural, except in the phrases *πρὸς τρόπον* and *ἀπὸ τρόπου.*

ἐπῆλθε, 'it occurred to you': in contrast with *ἔδοξε,* § 257, 'I resolved.' Politics, Demosthenes would have it, were only an accident in the life of Aeschines, a deliberate choice in his own.

λαγὼ βίον. A proverbial phrase, it would seem, for a timorous life: Lucian, Vit. Luc. 9 *λαγὼ βίον ζῶν.*

ἐν οἷς δ'. Cf. § 19 *ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον.*

ὦψαι. These forms from the root *οπ* are not common: but cf. in Timocr. § 66 *πάλαι γὰρ μισθοῦ καὶ γράφων καὶ νόμους εἰσφέρων ὦπται.*

καίτοι, 'I ask you'; often introduces an indignant question. For § 264. its uses see Index.

χιλίων. Diodor. 16. 86 *τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἔπεσον μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν χιλίων, ἥλωσαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισχιλίων.*

ἐξέτασον, 'review, examine side by side, the incidents of your life § 265. and of mine.'

ἐξέπιπτες. Cf. F. L. § 337 *ὅτε μὲν τὰ Θυέστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἠγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε οὕτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀποστῆναι.*

δοκιμάζομαι, 'I am under trial (examination, touching my crowning.' § 266.

ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις, 'You have already won the reputation of a malicious accuser, the only question for you is whether you are still to go on with your calling, or to be stopped once for all by failing to obtain the fifth part of the votes.' Cf. § 82.

ἀγαθῇ γε. *γε* heightens the sarcasm: cf. adv. Androt. § 73 (after mentioning a disgraceful inscription) *ὁμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; τοῦτο τοῖς προτέροις ἐπιγράμμασιν.*

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ was a common formula at Athens, often prefixed to public documents.

παρανάγνωθι, 'read by way of contrast.' § 267.

ῥήσεις. Speeches from a play, cf. Ar. Nub. 1371 *ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ᾄσ' Εὐριπίδου ῥῆσίν τιν'.*

ἐλυμαίνου, 'which you ruined'; cf. *ἐπέτριψας,* § 180. The imperfect implies that it was his habit.

ἦκω, *κ.τ.λ.*, these are the opening words of Euripides' Hecuba, spoken by the ghost of Polydorus, a tritagonist's part.

κακαγγελεῖν. The source of this line is unknown.

πονηρόν, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'being a villain, both as a citizen and as an actor.'

§ 268. κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. Often coupled together, 'generous and kindly'; cf. adv. Boeot. de Dote (40). § 32 *ὑμεῖς μὲν οὕτως ἐστὲ κοινοὶ καὶ φιλάνθρωποι ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν τριάκοντα υἱεῖς φυγαδεῦσαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἠξιώσατε.*

οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι, 'I will not think of saying.'

ἐλυσάμην, 'ransomed.' Cf. F. L. § 169.

συνεξέδωκα, 'helped to portion.' The simple verb *ἐκδιδωμι* is frequently used for 'giving in marriage.'

§ 269. τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα, *κ.τ.λ.*, cf. Cic. Laelius, § 71 'odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quae meminisse debet is, in quem conlata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit.'

οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, *sc. ποιεῖν*, 'I will never be induced to.'

ὑπείλημμαι, pass., 'I am content with whatever opinion has already been formed of me in these matters.' For the passive cf. § 228 *ἐγνωσμένους.*

§ 270. ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον, 'beneath this sun,' a poetical phrase; cf. Il. 5. 267 *ὑπ' ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε.*

ἀθῷος, 'has not suffered from.' These adjectives compounded with *a* privative are often followed by a genitive; cf. *κακῶν ἀπαθής*, &c. This adjective is used absolutely above, § 125.

δυναστείας. See § 322, note.

§ 271. τὴν ἁπάντων, *κ.τ.λ.* Cf. § 254.

φοράν τινα. A common word in Plato for 'movement'; cf. Gorg. 451 C *τὴν τῶν ἄστρων φορὰν καὶ ἡλίου.* Here of the rapid tide of events which take one by surprise. The word is used quite differently in § 61 *φορὰ προδοτῶν*, 'a crop of traitors.'

§ 272. παρὰ τουτοισί, 'among the Athenians.' Cf. § 158 *παρ' ἑκάστοις.*

καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδώς, 'and this, though you know.'

ἐπιβάλλει. Intransitive, cf. § 254.

ἅπασι, for the thought cf. § 125 *τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης.*

§ 273. προυτίθει. Cf. § 236.

οὐ γάρ, *κ.τ.λ.* Note the variety of expression: the different reasons are given in *ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ . . . τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος . . . καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν.* Cf. § 313 *οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν . . . ἀλλὰ φυλάττων.*

δεινὰ ποιεῖς. Often used of extraordinary, unjustifiable conduct; cf. 132 (note).

§ 274. ἀδικεῖ τις ἑκών; *κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Arist. Rhet. 1. 13 *ἔστι δ' ἀτυχήματα μὲν ὅσα παράλογα καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ μοχθηρίας, ἁμαρτήματα δὲ ὅσα μὴ παράλογα*

καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ πονηρίας, ἀδικήματα δὲ ὅσα μήτε παράλογα ἀπὸ πονηρίας τ' ἐστίν. In this passage of Demosthenes, *οὐ κατώρθωσε* corresponds to *ἀτύχημα*. 'Shares in the general misfortune.'

ὀργήν. The accusative is due to *διωρισμένα ὁρῶ*.

οὐ μόνον τοῖς νομίμοις. Editors vary here between *νομίμοις* and *νόμοις*. If the latter is read, *νομίμοις* should be read below: as in Aristocr. § 70 *παρὰ . . . τοὺς ἀγράφους νόμους καὶ τἄγραφα νόμιμα*, and the famous passage in Soph. Ant. 454 *ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα*. The dative *νομίμοις* is a little harsh, and Dissen after Laur. S reads *ἐν τοῖς*. Weil takes *πάντα* for a corruption of *καταστάντα* and *ἤθεσι* omitted by S is for an addition to *ἀνθρωπίνοις* misplaced. He emends the sentence thus *φανήσεται ταῦτα καταστάνθ' οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις διώρικεν*, but this is not an improvement, and *ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσιν* gives a good sense. Reiske emends to *ἔθεσιν*, which is much less forcible; cf. § 204. § 275.

δεινὸν καὶ γόητα. Aesch. in Ctes. § 16 calls Demosthenes *κακοῦργον σοφιστὴν οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν*, and in § 207 *τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαντιωτόμον καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν*. *δεινός* is specially used of oratorical ability, cf. *δεινότητα*, § 277. *Καί* must be retained in spite of Plato, Symp. 203 D *δεινὸς γόης καὶ φαρμακεὺς καὶ σοφιστής*. § 276.

σοφιστήν. Cf. § 227 *σοφίζεται*.

ὡς, κ.τ.λ. For the accusative absolute with *ὡς* cf. supra, § 122. 'Just as though, if a man forestalls another and ascribes to him qualities which really belong to himself, they were really proved to be his.'

τίς ποτε. Cf. F. L. § 33 *πῶς οὖν ῥᾳδίως πάντες εἴσεσθε τίς ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ πονηρός;*

δεινότητα. Before discussing his own eloquence he ingeniously throws the responsibility for its effect on the audience. Cf. De Fals. Leg. § 340 *αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἐπιεικῶς εἰσιν αὐτάρκεις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀντιστῇ, διακόπτεται.* § 277.

ὡς . . . εὐνοίας. For the genitive cf. Thuc. 1. 22 *ὡς ἑκατέρῳ τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι*.

δ' οὖν. Resumptive, as usual, cf. § 213; 'but if I *have* any experience of this kind, you will find it always exercised in public affairs on your behalf, never against you or for selfish ends.'

ἐξεταζομένην. See Index.

τῷ λέγειν, if genuine, must be regarded as a dative of cause or manner, 'his eloquence you will find exercised in exactly the opposite way, in that he speaks not only for our enemies, but also against all who have vexed or offended him.' Weil brackets *τῷ λέγειν*.

προσέκρουσε. Cf. §§ 161, 254.

κατὰ τούτων. For the plural after *εἴ τις* cf. § 99.

§ 278. **καλὸν κἀγαθόν**, 'honourable.' Cf. § 306.

ὑπὲρ τούτων, 'to promote these passions,' like *ταῦτα* which comes after.

μάλιστα μέν. Cf. supra, § 103.

τῶν ὅλων, 'general interests.' Cf. § 28.

πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστί, 'it is a question of dealing with the enemies of the people.' For this impersonal use equivalent to *ἔργον ἐστί* cf. in Stephan. 1. (45) 22 *ἀλλ' ἐῶ Κῦρ· τὰ ῥᾴστα· οὔτε γὰρ νῦν μοι πρὸς ἐκεῖνόν ἐστιν.*

§ 279. **προσθήσω δέ.** Cf. Cherson. § 40 *καὶ κακόν ἐστι μὲν ἐστι καὶ ἐχθρὸν ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἑδάφει, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.*

συνεσκευασμένον, 'having contrived': generally used in a bad sense in Demosthenes; cf. § 144 and *σκευωροῦμαι, σκεύωρημα.*

τὸ δὲ δή introduces a new point, 'and then' 'not content with that.'

ἐμὲ αὐτόν. Stronger than *ἐμαυτόν.* Cf. § 13 *ἐμὲ δὲ . . . αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο.*

§ 280. **φωνασκίας.** Cf. § 291 and De Fals. Leg. § 336 *ἂν οὕτω φυλάττητε αὐτόν, οὐχ ἕξει τί λέγῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄλλως ἐνταῦθ' ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωτὴν καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς ἔσται.*

ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, 'the modulation of the voice.' The word is used often of musical 'pitch,' but a comparison with Aeschines, Fals. Leg. § 157 *ἐντεινάμενος ταύτην τὴν ὀξεῖαν καὶ ἀνήκουσαν φωνήν*, has led some editors to interpret it here as 'effort, straining'; so Lid. and Scott. Voemel 'contentio vocis.'

§ 281. **οὗτος.** For this use of the word taking up a preceding participle cf. supra, § 159.

θεραπεύων, here with a personal object, in § 307 with an impersonal.

ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμεῖ, *sc. ἀγκύρας*, lit. 'does not ride at the same anchor as the people,' i. e. does not 'row in the same boat with.'

οὔκουν οὐδέ, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'no, and he does not look for safety where they do.—But, mark me, I do: for I choose the same interests as my fellow citizens, and have adopted no exclusive or selfish policy.' Lit. 'have treated nothing as reserved or private.'

§ 282. **ἀρνούμενος . . . τὴν χρείαν**, 'though you tell them you had declined that mission.' This, the interpretation of the Scholiast, is better than the other rendering, 'disclaiming that intimacy with Philip.'

ὁ μὴ λέγων, though of a definite person, implies a quality: hence *μή.*

καταρᾶται. Cf. § 130.

οὗτος, is the predicate: cf. supra, § 173 *ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος.* 'This is the position you were found taking up.'

§ 283. **φθέγγῃ**, 'can you open your lips?'

ὥστ' οὐ μεμνῆσθαι. This is an instance of the normal use of *ὥστε οὐ* with the infinitive, in which the infinitive represents a *ὥστε οὐ* with

indicative converted into indirect discourse. In other cases the *οὐ* is closely connected with some word in the sentence, but a few remain which cannot be explained on this ground. (Goodwin, *M. and T.*, § 598.)

τῆς τυμπανιστρίας. Cf. 259; the drum belonged to these mystic worships. Cf. Eur. Bacch. 58 *αἴρεσθε τἀπιχώρι' ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν τύπανα Ῥέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὑρήματα.* § 284.

ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ. The use of *μέν* without a *δέ* following is frequent with *ἐγώ*. The *ἀλλά* here does not mark opposition to *ἐγώ*, but to the whole clause preceding. 'I can see no claim. No!—on the contrary, you were hired,' &c.

παρ' αὐτά, κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 15. § 285.

προβληθέντα. Put forward by the council. Cf. § 149.

Demades, son of Demeas, an Athenian of great natural eloquence, which he put, from Chaeronea onwards, at the service of Philip and Alexander. Schaefer, iii. p. 19 foll. He was put to death in 318 by order of Antipater.

Hegemon. An orator who appears more than once associated with Demades and Pythocles. He was condemned to death in 317 with Phocion.

παρελθόντος. Cf. § 171.

Pythocles, once a friend of Demosthenes, afterwards supported Philip. Cf. Fals. Leg. 225. He was condemned in 317 with Phocion and Hegemon.

ἔτ' ἄμεινον looks like a colloquialism for 'only all the more.'

διομνύμενοι, 'with an oath.' Cf. § 283. § 286.

ὧν ἐφρόνουν, κ.τ.λ., means not so much 'impunity for their aims,' as 'freedom to speak their minds,' 'to declare themselves.'

ὑπελάμβανον. The reading of S and L is *ὑπολαμβάνοντες*. If this be retained the *δέ* before *ἑώρων* is not needed, but may be regarded as resumptive. § 287.

μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον, κ.τ.λ. The language is studiously elaborate. For the phrase cf. in Mid. § 120 *φόνον μὲν ὑνειδίζειν, τούτῳ δ' ὁμωρόφιον γίγνεσθαι.*

γεγενημένον εἶναι. The periphrastic form adds solemnity, and also avoids the repetition of *γεγενῆσθαι.*

μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν . . . δεῦρο δέ. A good example of the normal use of *μὲν . . . δέ* after a negative: cf. supra, § 13, note. The construction may be contrasted with *μηδὲ . . . ἀλλά* in the same sentence.

τὸ περίδειπνον. After the burial, the mourners returned to the house of the nearest relative, where the funeral feast was held. It would seem that in cases, such as this, of the burial of a number of people who had fallen in battle, one common feast was held for all. See Gardner and Jevons, p. 364. § 288.

ὥσπερ, κ.τ.λ., 'as is usual on other occasions.'

γένει μέν, κ.τ.λ. Weil compares Soph. O. T. 62:

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἄλγος εἰς ἓν' ἔρχεται
μόνον καθ' αὑτὸν κοὐδέν' ἄλλον· ἡ δ' ἐμὴ
ψυχὴ πόλιν τε κἀμὲ καὶ σ' ὁμοῦ στένει.

§ 289. **αὐτῷ . . . Αἰσχίνη.** For the change of person cf. supra, § 64. This epigram, though not found in the best MSS. is by most editors believed to be genuine, and there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting it. A good many emendations have been suggested in different lines.

πάτρας ἕνεκα σφετέρας. Weil suspects *ἕνεκα* in view of *οὕνεκεν* 'Ελλήνων below, and conjectures *μὲν ἑκάς.*

ἔθεντο ὅπλα. The phrase is used in Thuc., Xen., &c., for troops taking up a position either for encamping or for fighting.

ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος. This is impossible to translate as it stands, and there have been many corrections. The simplest are 1) *λήματος* for *δείματος*: the genitive being regarded as governed by *βράβην*, and the words *οὐκ . . . ἀλλ'* as parenthetical. Others correct *μαρνάμενοι* into *μητσάμενοι*: (2) Weil *ἄρεως τε καὶ αἵματος*, making the genitives depend on *ἐσάωσαν*. Cf. Soph. Ant. 1162 *σώσας μὲν ἐχθρῶν τήνδε Καδμείων χθόνα.*

βράβην is the reading of the MSS., corrected by many editors into *βραβῆ*, but as neither form seems to occur elsewhere it seems unnecessary to alter the text.

ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες. The active *θέντες* would apply more naturally to the conqueror than the conquered. Weil avoids the difficulty by reading *ζυγῷ αὐχένα θέντες*, but can this mean 'putting their necks under the yoke,' without *ὑπό*? Voemel reads *θεῖσαν* instead of *θέντες*, in agreement with *ὕβριν.*

ἀμφὶς of a yoke as in Hom. Od. 3. 486 *ζυγὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντες.*

ἐν βιοτῇ, κ.τ.λ., with this punctuation *ἐν βιοτῇ* goes with the preceding line, and the thought is that man depends upon the gods in life but that even the gods do not grant him escape from death.

ἔπορεν (some MSS. *ἔπορον*). *ὁ θεός* must be supplied from *θεῶν*: 'God grants not to man to escape fate.' Weil, following Bergk, reads *ἐν βροτέᾳ μοίρᾳ δ' ἔκ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορον*, but this does not improve the sense, and gives a very clumsy line.

§ 290. **καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ.** Weil omits as a repetition from 289.

§ 291. **ὡς ἄν.** Cf. *ὥσπερ ἄν*, § 298.

δεῖγμα, κ.τ.λ. Cf. F. L. § 12 *τοῦτο τὸ δεῖγμα ἐξενηνοχότος περὶ αὐτοῦ.*

λαρυγγίζων. Cf. supra, § 259. 'Straining his throat.'

§ 292. **προαιρέσει.** See Index.

πράγματα, 'trouble.' See Index.

πραττομένῃ. Cf. Aristocr. § 11 *ὁ Κερσοβλέπτῃ πράττων τὴν ἀρχὴν* § 293.
Χαρίδημος.

σχετλιώτερα, 'much more outrageous.' § 294.

ἐπ' ἀληθείας. Cf. supra, §§ 17, 22.

ἀνελόντας. Cf. Phil. 4. 36 *εἰ ἀνέλοιμεν ἐκ μέσου καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας*.

ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν. One might rather expect *ἀναθεῖεν* by itself, as in § 17 *ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί*, but the addition of *ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν* perhaps, as Dissen suggests, hints at the recoil of the mischief on the heads of its authors. The phrase seems to combine the two ideas *τὰ κακὰ εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρέπειν* (see § 290) and *τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνατιθέναι*.

τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας, 'those who were ready to their hands in each § 295.
city.' Many of these names are no more than names to us, in the absence of Theopompus' history. Aristratus and Timolaus and Perilaus are named above, § 48, Hipparchus and Clitarchus in Phil. 3. 58.

τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων. For the genitive, rather a harsh one, § 296.
cf. Phil. 3. 56 *ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου*, 'some were for the good cause.'

ἀλάστορες. The word is used in two senses. In Soph. O. C. 788, Trach. 1235, it means 'an avenging spirit'; in other passages, e. g. Aj. 374, it means 'an accursed one,' but as Jebb in loc. points out, the word can hardly mean, as L. and S. make it, a 'victim of the avenger,' but is rather a generalized use of the word in the sense of 'plague' or 'curse.' For its use by Demosthenes cf. De F. L. § 305 *βάρβαρον . . . καὶ ἀλάστορα τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλῶν*.

ἠκρωτηριασμένοι. Used in classical Greek (Herod. and Xen.) of cutting off the prow of a ship, in Polyb. of cutting off hands and feet, and the metaphor here no doubt is that of 'mutilation.'

προπεπωκότες. The Scholiast on Pindar, Ol. 7. 5 says *τὸ προπίνειν ἐστὶ κυρίως τὸ ἅμα τῷ κράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρίζεσθαι*. From its original meaning of 'to pledge,' found in F. L. § 128 *φιλοτησίας προύπινεν*, it passes into the meaning of 'to give away,' whether a cup, as in F. L. § 139 *ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προύπινεν αὐτοῖς*, or metaphorically as here, and in Ol. 3. 22 *προπέποται τῆς παραυτίκα χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα*. The word passed into colloquial Latin and even into English (cf. Scott's *Antiquary*, ch. 27, 'a braw propine').

ὅροι καὶ κανόνες, 'standard and rule.'

συστάσεως. Cf. § 249 *συστάντων*, of combination for evil purposes. § 297.

εἰ δεῖ μὴ λῆρεῖν, 'if I am to speak seriously': cf. F. L. § 262 *ταῦτα νὴ τὴν Δήμητρα, εἰ δεῖ μὴ λῆρεῖν, ἐνλαβείας οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖται*.

φιλανθρωπία λόγων, 'fair (courteous) speeches.' Cf. F. L. § 139 § 298.

φιλανθρωπευόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Φίλιππος. In § 268 *supra*, *φιλάνθρωπος* is used in a good sense.

ἐπῆρεν. Cf. § 175.

ὥσπερ ἄν. Cf. *ὡς ἄν*, § 291.

τρυτάνη, 'tongue' of the balance, which naturally inclines toward the heavier scale.

τὸ λῆμμα. Generally used by Demosthenes of unjust or selfish gains, cf. De Pace, § 5 *τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασιν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἁμαρτάνειν ὑμᾶς πεισάντων.*

ἀπ' ὀρθῆς, κ.τ.λ. The adjectives are predicative, as the position of the article shows.

πραγμάτων . . . προστάς, 'having had the direction of the most weighty affairs (policies) of any man of my time.'

§ 299. This refers to Demosthenes' work as *τειχοποιός*, which Aeschines in Ctes. § 236 says is outweighed by the evil of the policy which made it necessary; *εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις . . . ὅτι τὰς πάρας τὰς περὶ τὰ τείχη καλῶς ἐπάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργασθῆναι καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει.*

πόρρω . . . τίθεμαι, 'I set them far below.' Demosthenes as usual recalls his hearers from the material to the moral forces in politics. In the same spirit, F. L. § 252, he calls the Athenians' attention from Solon's gesture to Solon's mind, *ὁ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος ἦν τούτου πολλῷ τῇ πολει λυσιτελέστερον τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν Σόλωνος ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο.*

τόπους. Euboea, Boeotia, the Megarid (Dissen).

ὑπὲρ τούτων probably masc. 'in defence of the Athenians.' There is something to be said for *ἀμυνομένους*, the reading of some MSS., but the present participle, which has the best authority, describes the force as still existing.

§ 300. **προυβαλόμην** here and in §§ 195 and 301 (and later in Polybius) used of fortifications, literal or metaphorical.

τὸν κύκλον. Of the circuit of the walls, as in Thuc. 2. 13 *τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους σταδίους ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.*

οὐδέ γε. Cf. § 307.

οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοί. According to Diodor. 16. 88 the Athenians, on the accusation of Lycurgus, condemned their own general Lysicles.

Φιλίππου. The genitive goes with *ἡττήθην* and is to be taken with the second half of the sentence also. Demosthenes did not come short of Philip in his calculations or preparations, but the generals fell short of him in fortune.

§ 301. **ἐκ θαλάττης.** Cf. § 230.

σιτοπομπίαν. For the importance of the corn-trade to Athens cf. in Lept. § 31 *πλείστῳ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ χρώμεθα* and Boeckh's *Die Staatshaushaltung*, i. p. 97 foll., 3rd ed.

παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν, 'along a coast friendly all the way.'

Proconnesus. An island in the Propontis, a colony from Miletus, which came into the Athenian alliance. The Athenians sent troops there in 341. Its marble-quarries give its present name, Marmara, to that sea. § 302.

Chersonese and Byzantium. Cf. § 80, &c.

Tenedos. An island off the coast of the Troad; in Thuc. 7. 57 and in the tribute-lists appears as tributary to Athens. From (Demosth.) *περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλεξ. συνθηκῶν*, § 20 *εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπεροψίας ἦλθον ἅστε εἰς Τένεδον ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοῖα κατήγαγον*, it would appear that it was afterwards occupied by the Macedonians. The Athenians sent troops there in 341.

Abydos appears from Dem. in Aristocr. § 158 *τῆς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὑμῖν ἐχθρᾶς* to have been at enmity with Athens, which otherwise, by the possession of Sestos, would have commanded the entrance to the Hellespont. In earlier days it appears, like Tenedos, in the Hellespontic tribute-list.

ἐνέλειπε: here impersonal. In § 303 it is used differently.

προσθεῖναι, to add, used for contrast with *ἀφελεῖν*, 'to subtract.'

πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ with *πεπραγμένα*, balancing *βεβουλευμένα ὀρθῶς*. § 303.

παρεθέντα, *κ.τ.λ.* For the triad of participles see Index under 'Arrangement of words'; 'lost by neglect or ignorance or treachery.'

ὅσα . . . ἦκεν. Cf. F. L. § 30 *ὅσα τῆς Φωκέων σωτηρίας ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἦκεν.*

ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις. Though Demosthenes elsewhere only uses the accusative after this verb there is plenty of authority for the dative (Isocr., Xen.).

οὐδείς. This is the reading of the MSS., but they have *ἐκέχρηντο*, which may point to *οὐδένες*, the emendation of Cobet: for the plural cf. Ol. 2. 17. Thessaly and Arcadia. So §§ 63, 64. These countries were regarded as types of traitors. § 304.

καλὸν κἀγαθόν, 'honourable.' Cf. § 278. § 306.

μεγίστοις, *sc. ἡμῖν.*

ὑπῆρχεν. See Index. The *ἄν* is omitted as in words of fitness, power or duty.

τὸ δικαίως προσῆν. The article is used to introduce the word *δικαίως*, 'not only were we bound to be indisputably the greatest power, but justly so as well.'

ὡς ἑτέρως, a euphemism.

περίεστι: present indicative is used because the fact still remains, and is not, like *ὑπῆρχεν*, an unrealized hypothesis.

§ 307. **ἀποστάντα**, 'holding aloof from,' 'discarding.' Cf. §§ 200, 308.

θεραπεύειν, 'promote the interests of our enemies.' Cf. F. L. § 226 *τοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματ' ἠρημένοις θεραπεύειν.*

ὑποστάντα, 'had the courage to.' In F. L. § 69 *τούτους ἐξαπατᾶν ὑπέστησαν* it is used in a bad sense.

μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων. Cf. Chers. § 14 *μενεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς.*

ὕπουλον. A metaphor from an ulcer 'skinned over'; hence 'treacherous' 'insidious.' *ἡσυχία* is here used of political retirement.

§ 308. **ἀποστὰς . . . τῆς πολιτείας**, 'holding aloof from public life.'

μεστοί, 'sated with, weary of.'

δύσκολον, as in § 189, 'untoward' events.

ὥσπερ πνεῦμ'. The idea seems to be of sudden and incalculable action.

πεφωνασκηκώς : for references to Aeschines' voice cf. supra, § 259.

ῥήματα, contemptuous, as in § 232.

τῷ τυχόντι. Cf. § 180; 'to any citizen to whom it may so happen,' i. e. to this or that citizen, as Aeschines' whim dictates.

§ 309. **μελέτης**, *κ.τ.λ.* Of practice and diligence in oratory.

ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν would naturally mean 'establishment of a market.' If the reference were to founding ports abroad, we should expect either the plural, or the name of a definite place. The words seem to refer to the strengthening and enriching of the port of Athens itself as a centre of commerce. The meaning of *κατασκευή* is illustrated by De F. L. § 90 *κατασκευαῖς ὅπλων καὶ χώρας καὶ προσόδων. . . ἡ δέ γε τῶν πραγμάτων κατασκευὴ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων*. Perhaps here it may be translated 'an extended market.'

§ 310. **ἐξέτασις**. A review of the ranks for a special purpose: hence 'demand for all these,' cf. § 320. Dissen translates it by 'probatio'—'There was opportunity to try men (for men to prove themselves) in all these.'

ἀποδείξεις, opportunities for display (distinction).

οὐδαμοῦ. Cf. § 320, as in English 'nowhere,' of a man who is 'out of the running': De Fals. Leg. § 116 *οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἂν φανῆναι καθ' αὑτὸν ἐκεῖνον.*

οὐχ ὁποστοσοῦν, 'not in any class at all.'

οὔκουν, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'at least not on any occasion when the city prospered.'

§ 311. **διακονία** : of public service; cf. § 206.

Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, 'what policy at home, or what negotiations with Greek or foreign states?' The latter would refer to dealings with the princes of Thrace and the Bosporus.

ἐπέστης. See Index.

ποῖαι, *κ.τ.λ.*, *ποῖος* is more sarcastic than simple *τίς*;

πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινή, 'patriotic and generous.' Cf. § 268 and see Index.

§ 312. **ἀλλ' ὦ τᾶν**, 'but, my good friend,' you will urge, 'if I did none

of these things, I showed good feeling and good will.' The phrase is colloquial and not used in earlier orators. It is used here to give a touch of ridicule to a quoted objection; cf. Ol. 1. 26 *ἀλλ' ὦ τᾶν οὐχὶ βουλήσεται.*

Aristonicus had probably lost his civic rights from failure to pay a fine. He showed his patriotism by giving to his country the money collected by his friends to reinstate him.

ὅς γε. *γε* gives a causal sense to *ὅς*, making it = Latin *qui* with subjunctive. Cf. § 125.

ἔρανον. In Homer a 'joint-feast,' to which all contributed: in later Greek a society with common contributions and a common fund, or a contribution to such society. Then it is used for any voluntary contributions, as here, metaphorically, as in Thuc. 2. 43 *κάλλιστον ἔρανον* and in Mid. § 101 *ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους φέρειν ἀξιοῦν παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς ἔρανον παρὰ πάνθ' ὅσα πράττουσιν.*

τῶν ἡγεμόνων. See Note on § 102.

ἐφ' οἷς. See Index *ἐπί.*

ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω. The compounds of *κρούω* are much used by Demosthenes, especially *παρακρούομαι, συγκρούω, προσκρούω* (see Index). *ἐκκρούειν* is used of 'postponing or delaying an action,' of 'interrupting a speaker' (F. L. § 23). Here the notion is of breaking off from the main road of the argument 'that I may not lose sight of the matter in hand, by adding argument to argument.' § 313

δι' ἔνδειαν . . . φυλάττων. For this variation of construction cf. § 273 *ἠττώμενος . . . καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν.*

οἷς, *κ.τ.λ.*, dative of advantage, 'because you were careful that no opposition should be offered on your part to those whose interest determines your whole policy.'

νεανίας, 'on what occasions do you show your spirit?'; cf. § 136.

λαμπροφωνότατος. Cf. § 259. For the adjective cf. F. L. § 199 *λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ.*

Θεοκρίνης. According to Harpocration a 'sycophant'; but this may merely be a conjecture founded on the *ἔνδειξις κατὰ Θεοκρίνου* found among Demosthenes' speeches (lviii). The epithet *τραγικός* is a natural one to apply to Aeschines the player, but the exact shade of meaning will depend on the associations of the name Theocrines which we do not know. 'A ranting Theocrines,' 'a Theocrines of tragedy.'

καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς, 'yes, and you are right to do so.' The phrase has not here the idiomatic force it bears in *καλῶς ποιῶν*, § 231. § 314

προλαβόντα. Cf. § 224 *πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν,* 'taking advantage of the good will which you always feel towards the dead.'

ἐξετάζειν. See Index. Its meaning is coloured here by *παραβάλλειν*; the examination is also a comparison.

§ 315. **τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι.** Cf. Thuc. 2. 45 *φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται.*

τῇ φύσει, 'since this is so in the order of nature.'

κρίνωμαι: deliberative subjunctive; therefore answered by *μηδαμῶς.*

καὶ ζώντων. Omitted by Dobree as superfluous: but it is needed at the end of the sentence to emphasize the point.

§ 316. **ἐκεῖνο,** as often, of what follows.

ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον, 'shown towards the present generation'; a somewhat unusual expression.

§ 317. **πολιτεία, κ.τ.λ.** See Index.

διέσυρον. See note on § 27, and Index.

βάσκανον, 'malicious': see Index.

§ 318. **ὁ δ' ἀδελφός.** Two brothers, Philochares and Aphobetus, are named in F. L. § 237. Probably the reference here is to Philochares, who had been Strategus at Athens.

ὦ χρηστέ, 'my good sir (to use no other name).'

τοὺς καθ' αὑτόν: the men of his own time.

§ 319. Philammon, an Athenian athlete.

Glaucus of Carystus in Euboea, according to Pausan. 6. 10, was victor in boxing at all the four great games of Hellas, eight times each at the Nemea and Isthmia.

καὶ σύ, '*so* do you.'

οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι, 'I shrink from (comparison with) none.' For the construction cf. in Lept. § 10 *οὐδένα πώποτε κίνδυνον ἐξέστησαν,* and Soph. Aj. 82 *φρονοῦντα γάρ νιν οὐκ ἂν ἐξέστην ὅκνῳ.* There is an old variant *οὐδενί,* which would mean 'I yield to none'; cf. Soph. Phil. 1053 *σοί γ' ἑκὼν ἐκστήσομαι.*

§ 320. **ἐφαμίλλου,** 'open to the emulation (competition) of all.' The word is specially applied by Demosthenes to the voluntary rivalry of free citizens, cf. in Lept. § 108 *ὅτι τὰς μὲν διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων πολιτείας τὸ πάντας ἔχειν ἴσον ἀλλήλοις τοὺς τῶν κοινῶν κυρίους ὑμονοεῖν ποιεῖ, τὴν δὲ τῶν δήμων ἐλευθερίαν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅμιλλα, ἣν ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δωρεαῖς πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ποιοῦνται, φυλάττει.*

οὐδαμοῦ. Cf. § 310.

ἐπηρεάσαι. Cf. *ἐπήρειαν,* § 12.

ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελε, *sc. συμβῆναι.* For the euphemism cf. § 288.

συμβούλων, independent advisers, as opposed to servile politicians dictated to from abroad.

ἕτερον: used of an outsider, and especially of the Macedonian king; cf. De Pace, § 15 *τὰ μὲν κακὰ πάνθ' ἑξουσιν αὐτοί, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐφεδρεύων ἕτερος καθεδεῖται.*

ἐξέτασις, 'demand'; cf. § 310.

ἐν τάξει, 'at your post,' 'on duty.' See Index.

ἱπποτρόφος. The idea implied in the word is wealth and luxury. In Pindar *ἱπποτροφία* has only a good sense, as an attribute of the well-born Hellene, Isthm. 2. 55 *ἱπποτροφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ*, and so in Xen. Oec. 2. 6, as one of the public services, *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰσθάνομαι τὰ μὲν ἤδη σοι προστάττουσαν μεγάλα τελεῖν, ἱπποτροφίας τε καὶ χορηγίας καὶ γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ προστατείας.* In Thuc. 6. 12 (Nicias on Alcibiades), *ὅπως θαυμασθῇ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱπποτροφίας*, it has the same touch of sarcasm as here. Trans. 'Great and splendid in your grand equipage.' For the tone of the passage cf. F. L. § 313 *εἶτα γεωργεῖς ἐκ τούτων καὶ σεμνὸς γέγονας.*

ἀνεπιφθονώτατον, 'least invidious'; cf. Thuc. 1. 75. § 321.

ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, 'in positions of authority.'

τὴν τοῦ γενναίου, &c., 'to maintain for your city the policy of generosity and preeminence.' Preeminence in the cause of freedom is, according to Demosthenes, the note of Athenian foreign policy at its best.

πρωτείου. The plural is commoner in Demosthenes; cf. §§ 66, 209.

ἡ φύσις, here of a man's character, as opposed to the accidents of fortune.

ἐξαιτούμενος, 'when my extradition was demanded' by Alexander § 322. after the destruction of Thebes in 335.

εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας. The reference is uncertain. Dissen connects it with the Amphissean war, others with the events after the fall of Thebes, or the inquiry about the Persian gold. A. Schaefer (iii. p. 198) is probably right in thinking that Demosthenes was called upon in 330 to appear before the Amphictyons and justify his advocacy of the alliance with Sparta against Macedon. This would give point to the closing words of this speech, and to the passage he quotes from Aeschin. in Ctes. § 254 *καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μὴν μνήσθητε ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ' ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιρούς· δόξετε δ', ἐὰν μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμονες εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν δὲ τοὐναντίον τούτου πράξητε, ἀπολύσετε τὸν δῆμον τῶν αἰτιῶν*

προσβαλλόντων, 'hounding on.'

τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Cf. Ol. 2. 6 *τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς.*

ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν: the adjectives are predicative, as the same words are in § 298.

δυναστείας, generally used of the arbitrary power of an oligarchy or a tyranny (cf. §§ 67, 270); here applied to the honourable empire of Athens.

θεραπεύειν. Cf. § 307.

μετὰ τούτων εἶναι, 'to stand and fall with them.'

§ 323. **ἐκεῖσε**, to Macedon.

ἔξω . . . βλέπουσι, Dissen quotes Plut. Arat. 15 *ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων*

ἕτερος, cf. § 320.

§ 324. **εἰ δ' ἄρ'**, 'but if, after all, they are past cure.'

ἐξώλεις, κ.τ.λ., for this solemn formula cf. F. L. § 172 *ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης*. **προ-** as in *πρόρριζος*.

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(1) Synonyms, especially verbs, are frequently arranged in pairs: *βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται*, 2; *πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι*, 4, cf. 11, 45, 110; *ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι*, 6, 34; *αἰτίας καὶ διαβολάς*, 7; *ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε*, 10; *κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες*, 11; *ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει*, 13; *διέβαλλε καὶ διεξῄει*, 14; *ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι*, 21; *ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες*, 22; *πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι*, 31; *δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται*, 40; *προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι*, 49; *πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν*, 60; *πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν*, 62; *ζώντων καὶ ὄντων*, 72; *εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς*, 97; *διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο*, 111; *τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι*, 122; *τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων*, 173; *λογίζου καὶ ὅρα*, 195; *προύλεγες καὶ διεμαρτύρου, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς*, 199; *σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ*, 212; *εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακώς*, 248; *σκέψασθε καὶ θεωρήσατε*, 252; *μήθ' ὁμορρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον*, 287; *κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι*, 315; *ὅροι καὶ κανόνες*, 296; *νοῦν καὶ φρένας*, 324.

(2) Verbs, adjectives, and substantives are frequently grouped in a series of three. (i) Verbs or verbal clauses: *οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ* (followed by two similar pairs of verbs), 179. So in 117, 274, triple groups of conditional sentences. *εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδείς*, 190; *στῆναι συνελθεῖν ἀναπνεῦσαι*, 195; *μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι*, 221; *παρεθέντα ... ἀγνοηθέντα ... προεθέντα*, 303; *λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων*, 217.

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